

AN INTRODUCTION TO PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN CULTURE



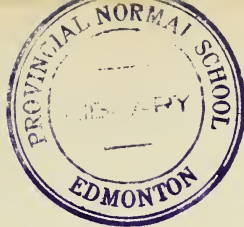
HAROLD RUGG




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THE RUGG SOCIAL SCIENCE COURSE

THE READING BOOKS

VOLUME I • An Introduction to American Civilization

VOLUME II • Changing Civilizations in the Modern World

VOLUME III • A History of American Civilization : Economic and Social

VOLUME IV • A History of American Government and Culture

VOLUME V • An Introduction to Problems of American Culture

VOLUME VI • Changing Governments and Changing Cultures

THE WORKBOOKS

VOLUME I • Pupil's Workbook of Directed Study to accompany
An Introduction to American Civilization

VOLUME II • Pupil's Workbook of Directed Study to accompany
Changing Civilizations in the Modern World

VOLUME III • Pupil's Workbook of Directed Study to accompany
A History of American Civilization : Economic and Social

VOLUME IV • Pupil's Workbook of Directed Study to accompany
A History of American Government and Culture

VOLUME V • Pupil's Workbook of Directed Study to accompany
An Introduction to Problems of American Culture

VOLUME VI • Pupil's Workbook of Directed Study to accompany
Changing Governments and Changing Cultures

THE TEACHER'S GUIDES

VOLUME I • Teacher's Guide for *An Introduction to American Civilization*

VOLUME II • Teacher's Guide for *Changing Civilizations in the Modern World*

VOLUME III • Teacher's Guide for *A History of American Civilization : Economic and Social*

VOLUME IV • Teacher's Guide for *A History of American Government and Culture*

VOLUME V • Teacher's Guide for *An Introduction to Problems of American Culture*

VOLUME VI • Teacher's Guide for *Changing Governments and Changing Cultures*

AN INTRODUCTION TO PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN CULTURE

BY

HAROLD RUGG

PROFESSOR OF EDUCATION, TEACHERS COLLEGE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY



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PREFACE

The fifth volume of the Rugg Social-Science Course, *An Introduction to Problems of American Culture*, may be used, along with the sixth volume of the series, as a self-contained, elementary treatment of world culture. The pupil who may not have studied the previous volumes of the series will suffer no inconvenience. Although reference to these volumes is freely made, the particular fact or principle which is important at the moment is always summarized so that the argument may be followed without embarrassment.

WHAT IS THIS COURSE IN SOCIAL SCIENCE?

This series of *Reading Books* with their accompanying *Workbooks of Directed Study* introduce the pupil to world civilizations and their history. The first volume, *An Introduction to American Civilization*, concerns chiefly economic life in the United States today. The second volume, *Changing Civilizations in the Modern World*, introduces the pupil to economic and social life in other lands. It considers especially the great industrial nations, the changing agricultural countries, and the interrelation of the two. The third, *A History of American Civilization: Economic and Social*, discusses the land, industrial and commercial history, and their effect upon American society. The fourth, *A History of American Government and Culture*, deals with the experiments in government during America's march toward democracy. Together these last two volumes comprise a comprehensive history of the civilization and culture of the United States in its geographic setting.

This present volume, *An Introduction to Problems of American Culture*, completes the description of American society, treating especially the life of the individual in the communities of our changing civilization. It also serves the special purpose of in-

roducing the economic, political, and social problems of American culture — problems the more adequate study of which may well engage the attention of students in the senior high school and the college. The sixth volume, *Changing Governments and Changing Cultures*, will introduce American youth to an understanding of the chief political and social problems of other leading countries of the world.

Thus Volume V rounds out the material of Volume I and Volume VI that of Volume II. The six volumes taken together are designed to provide a comprehensive introduction to modes of living and insistent problems of the modern world.

THE IMPORTANCE OF INTRODUCING YOUTH TO AN UNDER- STANDING OF CONTEMPORARY CIVILIZATION

The author firmly believes that young Americans can be given an appreciation of the significant contemporary problems of living together. Current conditions in America throw into sharp relief the critical need of teaching our youth to understand American life and its relation to the modern world. Our schools are confronted with the difficult task of educating pupils to become informed, thinking citizens. During the past 150 years the rapid development of industrial civilization has produced problems of living together that baffle even the keenest adult minds.

It is of the utmost importance that schools bend every effort to introduce our young people to the chief conditions and problems which will confront them as citizens of the world. That is the essential purpose of this new unified course in the social studies.

THE MATERIALS ARE BASED UPON THE FINDINGS OF SPECIALISTS

The foundation of this new course is a series of studies of the basic modes of living and the problems of modern life, the great movements through which institutions and problems have evolved, and the chief concepts and principles which, as history has proved, lie at the roots of living together.

Who knows best what these great institutions, problems, and trends are? Specialists on the frontier of thought who see society from a height, who detect its trends and the long-time movement

of its affairs. From the mature thought of established students of modern life and its historical development, therefore, instead of from the single judgments of the textbook-maker, the skeleton of this course has been designed. It is based upon nine years of investigational work. In that time thirteen research studies of what to teach have been made.

A UNIFIED COURSE IN SOCIAL SCIENCE

Why one general course rather than the separate subjects of history, geography, and civics? Because the chief aim is to understand modern life and how it came to be. To understand any institution or condition of life today the mind must utilize facts, meanings, generalizations, and historical movements that in the past have been set up in separate school subjects. For example, to understand the westward movement of the American people one must see in close relationship the tide of immigration across the continent; the blazing of trails; the evolution of new land and waterways; the rapid development of new types of transportation; constantly changing forms of social life; the rise of cities behind the advancing frontier; the influence of mountains, deserts, climate, rivers, and soil upon travel, transportation, and communication; and where and how people live. All these factors must be tied closely together in their natural relationships. Hence the necessity of combining them into one general course instead of teaching them as separate subjects. In constructing this course one question has constantly been in the foreground: What facts, historical movements, meanings, and principles do young people need to study together to understand the modern world?

In *An Introduction to Problems of American Culture* and the other volumes of this series, historical, geographic, economic, and other materials are studied *in close relationship*. Whenever history is needed to understand the present, history is presented. If geographic relationships are needed to throw light upon contemporary problems, those geographic relationships are incorporated. The same thing has been done with economic and social facts and principles.

This has *not* caused a reduction in the amount of history or of geography included in the course. Rather, it has produced a sharp increase in the amount of these subjects in the curriculum, and in addition has added to the curriculum a wealth of new material. Comparisons of the amount of history and geography in these six *Reading Books* with that of conventional textbooks in these subjects *should be based on a study of the total series and not on any one book.*

THE USE OF THE DRAMATIC EPISODE

The readers of this book will encounter a second novel characteristic: *the frequent use of dramatic episodes.* If young people are to be brought to an understanding of our complicated civilization, it must be chiefly through the medium of words. Hence the imperative need of dramatizing the past and present story of the important modern civilizations and their relations to one another. In this course each topic is illustrated by vivid episodes and by a wealth of maps, graphs, and pictorial material far in excess of their present use in textbooks. The substitution of this vivid episodical treatment for the encyclopedic one which characterizes many of our current school histories and geographies has necessitated a marked increase in the volume of reading material.

"LEARNING BY DOING": THE PUPIL'S WORKBOOK OF DIRECTED STUDY

The very center of this course in the social studies is the problem-solving activities of the *Workbook*. The chief goal of the social studies is active and intelligent participation in American civilization and tolerant understanding of other civilizations. To guarantee the attainment of this goal the school must organize its work around a core of dynamic pupil activities. *Young people grow in understanding only by participating actively in the study of the society around them.* Even to the present day the work in the social studies has consisted too much of memoriter recitation from the contents of encyclopedic textbooks in history, geography, and civics.

The essence of this new course in social studies is a succession of pupil activities, dynamic and thought-provoking. Many optional suggestions for these activities are incorporated in the *Workbook* and presented as a series of problems. Each problem of this course is an organized scheme of things for the pupil to do. Each unit compels him to find the answer to one or more important questions. The course, as presented in the *Workbook*, therefore, constantly confronts the pupil with stimulating problems, insight into each of which is important for an adequate understanding of the problems of the modern world. Hence the *Pupil's Workbook of Directed Study* is the very core of the course, and the *Reading Book* has been constructed, unit by unit, in close conjunction with it.

PLANNED REPETITION

The fourth characteristic of this course is the carefully planned recurrence of important concepts, generalizations, and historical themes in varied settings. One of the weaknesses of current school courses in history, geography, and civics is lack of planned repetition. In the present course this defect has been remedied by designing a carefully planned scheme of repetition. In preparing each topic the outstanding concepts, generalizations, and themes that an educated mind should understand have been charted in advance. Episodes, narratives, statistical and graphic exhibits, pictures, and maps have been selected with the need for the illustration of these items clearly in mind. Hence the student will encounter the important meanings, principles, and movements over and over again, but constantly presented in new and varied settings.

HUNDREDS OF SCHOOLS HAVE COÖPERATED IN THE PREPARATION OF THIS COURSE, 1922-1929

How can one feel sure that this course is within the comprehension and ability of the pupil?

It has passed through three experimental editions — the first was used in mimeographed form, 1921-1922; the second consisted of printed books used in 1922-1923 in more than 100 school

systems; the third consisted of completely reconstructed printed books (known as the *Social Science Pamphlets*) used in more than 300 school systems, 1923-1929.

This series of books could not have been developed successfully without the coöperation of a large number of public and private schools. In more than 40 states, hundreds of schools have purchased and tried out under our direction copies of the experimental editions. Over 600,000 copies of the pamphlets were used by pupils from 1922 to 1929.

Furthermore, the present series has been written with a much simpler vocabulary than was used even in the third experimental edition.

Every kind of community in the United States — small towns, medium-sized cities, large cities — has made experimental use of these books. More than 50,000 tests taken by pupils have been returned to us for examination. The judgments of more than 1000 teachers have been obtained, concerning needed revisions. Many round-table conferences have been held with small groups of teachers using the experimental editions. The theory of the course has been discussed with hundreds of audiences in the past seven years. Debates have been held with specialists in history and geography. Furthermore, careful measurements have proved that several thousand pupils studying the experimental edition achieved a markedly superior understanding of modern life and a distinctly higher ability in thinking about it than a group of 1500 pupils who had studied under similar conditions the conventional history-geography-civics courses.

THE COURSE IS BASED UPON AN ELABORATE PROGRAM OF RESEARCH¹

Twenty-two thorough investigations have been made dealing with the following topics:

1. Thirteen studies of what to teach of the problems of contemporary life, of the chief trends of civilization, and

¹ The entire nine years' investigational work will be reported in a monograph (in preparation) entitled *American Civilization and the Curriculum of the Social Sciences* (Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University). Of the many studies upon

of the central concepts and principles which educated minds use in thinking about them.

2. Three scientific studies of grade placement of curriculum materials and of the development of pupil's abilities.
3. Six studies of learning and of the organization of curriculum materials. These have also contributed to the arrangement of the material in this course.

THE NEED FOR A LARGE ALLOTMENT OF TIME FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES

Finally, no adequate course in the social studies can be developed successfully in the time now allotted to it in most public and private schools. Our elaborate program of research and our seven years of work with experimental editions prove conclusively that *more* than 60 minutes of daily class time must be devoted to the social studies in order that young people may obtain even a partial understanding of modern civilization. The social-studies course should be the intellectual core of the school curriculum. It is earnestly hoped that schools will provide adequately for this central core by allotting to it a large amount of time.

AN IMPORTANT CAUTION ABOUT ACCURACY IN USING FACTS

In this book there are many statements of fact which are necessary for an understanding of the history of our country and its relations to other nations. We have tried to make sure that the facts are stated accurately. One difficulty has been encountered, however: that even the most reliable sources from which

which this course is based the following have already been published: C. O. Matthews, *Grade Placement of Curriculum Materials in the Social Studies* (Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University); Harold Rugg and John A. Hockett, *Objective Studies in Map Location* (Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University); John A. Hockett's *The Determination of the Major Social Problems of American Life* (Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University); Hyman Meltzer, *Children's Social Concepts* (Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University); Earle Rugg, *Studies in Curriculum Construction in the Social Studies* (State Teachers College, Greeley, Colorado); "The Social Studies in the Elementary and Secondary School," Part II of the Twenty-second Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education (Public School Publishing Company); Neal Billings, *A Determination of Generalizations Basic to the Social Science Curriculum* (Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University).

the statistics and other facts have been selected do not always agree. It was necessary, therefore, to choose among them those statements which appear to us to be most accurate.

The reader will note the frequent use of round numbers in statements of number of inhabitants, distances, areas, etc. In most cases it is not important to remember the exact figures; it *is* important, however, to obtain a correct impression from the use of the facts. Hence approximate numbers and estimates have been frequently used. The student should constantly ask himself, How reliable are these facts? He should learn that in the past 100 years the scientific way of doing things has made our records more and more accurate. Nevertheless, much improvement in this matter is still needed. In spite of great care in checking the facts that have been given, the reader may find instances in which correction should be made.

IN ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This enterprise could not have been developed without the co-operative support and friendly and critical advice of many persons. First, there are several thousand progressive administrators and teachers who contributed criticisms and suggestions. From 1922 to 1929 inclusive these educational leaders gave unsparingly of their energy to the experimental trial of the tentative editions of these books. By their courage and vision in utilizing novel materials in the social sciences, they have put the children of American schools as well as myself in their debt.

Second, there is the administration of Teachers College, Columbia University, and of the Lincoln School. The American children who will use these materials owe a debt of gratitude to the deans of Teachers College and the directors of the Lincoln School for permitting and encouraging the development of this course by experimental methods.

I have acknowledged with pleasure in the body of the text many instances of coöperation from publishers who permitted quotations from their publications and the reproduction of illustrative materials. Almost without exception requests for coöperation of this character have been cordially granted.

Without the unfailing coöperation of my friends George F. Nugent and R. P. Nugent, Jr., it would have been impossible to carry on this experimental enterprise.

I have listed on a following page the names of the members of the research and editorial staff who contributed studies and materials to the experimental editions of the *Social-Science Pamphlets*.

In addition I wish to express my appreciation for loyal and intelligent assistance in preparing Volume V to Ruth Muriel Aspray and Helen Yorker. For the editing of these volumes to fit the needs of juvenile readers I am deeply indebted to Louise Krueger.

This statement of my indebtedness should not be permitted to close without referring to the unsparing efforts of the staff of Ginn and Company to produce a practicable, attractive, and teachable body of materials. But especially I wish to express my appreciation for the encouragement and support given by Messrs. Charles H. Thurber, Henry H. Hilton, and Burdette R. Buckingham.

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NEW YORK

The following research and editorial staff contributed studies or materials utilized in the various editions of this series of books.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO PROBLEMS OF
AMERICAN CULTURE

UNIT I

INTRODUCING SOME IMPORTANT PROBLEMS
OF OUR CHANGING CULTURE

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCING SOME IMPORTANT PROBLEMS OF OUR CHANGING CULTURE

Henry Tildsley paused and then began to sum up the proposals of the program committee at the opening meeting of the Social Science Club.¹

"The program committee thinks," he said, "that the club should study how the Industrial Revolution is affecting us, right here in our town, and in other villages, towns, and cities of the United States. We have studied a great deal about the changes in industry, farming, and business, and the changes in national government. But we don't know much about how they all really affect *us*."

"Why, Henry! Everything we've been studying about affects us," exclaimed Elizabeth Staunton.

"What do you mean, anyway—'affects us'?" added John Rogers, who was always ready with questions of opposition.

"Well," said Henry, glad of a chance to illustrate his point, "I mean our minds; what we think about, how we spend our time, the kinds of things we read and talk about, the shows we see. Take the problem of how we get our opinions about politics. I heard you say the other day that if you were old enough to vote at the coming election for mayor, you'd vote for Graham, the Republican. Betty said Fitzpatrick, the Democrat, was a better man for the place, and Jack Donlan said he would vote for the Socialist candidate, Thomas. Now how did we happen to hold different opinions? How did you get yours, Jack?"

"Why — er — I don't know. From what I read in the papers, I guess," stammered Jack.

"No, you didn't," exclaimed Elizabeth Staunton. "You got your views from your father. Your father's a Socialist, and so are most of your neighbors."

¹ Of the George Washington School of Anystate, U. S. A.

"If you lived in the east end and saw the conditions *I* see every day, you'd be a Socialist, too," responded Jack, sheepishly.

"I admit I got my opinions from my family," Elizabeth said, generously trying to cover up Jack's embarrassment. "My people are Democrats. But"—Elizabeth continued slowly, as she was struck by a thought—"I wonder where they got them."

"That's easy," Henry Tildsley drawled. "They got them from *their* fathers and mothers. Perhaps also from the newspapers, magazines, and books they read."

"But you can't believe what you read in the papers," exclaimed Tom Lawson, whose father was a professor of sociology. "The newspapers don't agree in their reports of the same events. I've got a good example of that here." Tom held up four newspaper clippings with headlines for the club to read. (You can read them, too, for they are shown in figure 1.)

**LAST OF 63 SAVED
FROM ICE IN ERIE**

You would gather from this headline that every one of sixty-three people had been saved from a disaster

**27 ICE-BOUND
ON FLOES SAVED**

You would understand from this headline that twenty-seven people had been saved

**10 MEN RESCUED
FROM DRIFTING
LAKE ERIE FLOE**

You would learn from this headline that ten men had been rescued

*Seek to Aid
8 Marooned
On Lake Ice*

If you read this headline you would believe that eight people were still marooned on the ice.

FIG. 1. These headlines appeared in four different newspapers in the same city on the same day

"Here's another case," Tom continued, holding up a new book. "Let me read you the way six newspapers fixed up the same story."

Tom began to read the following to the class :

When Alexander Kerensky was assaulted in a New York theater, the affair was described as follows in various New York newspapers :

Paper A : Kerensky reeled back.

Paper B : He stood unmoved.

Paper C : He stepped back, maintaining a calm pose.

Paper D : He stood still, but used his arms to wave back his friends.

Paper E : He stood still, with his arms thrown back.

Paper F : He reeled from the blow. His supporters were stemmed by a handful of royalists. Fists flew, noses ran red ; shirts and collars were torn.¹

While this discussion was going on, Ben Pillsbury, the president of the club, was writing these words on the blackboard : "A List of Suggested Problems." He then turned to the members of the club and said : "Under this heading let us list a few of the things we want to study this year. Our families certainly influence our opinions and the ways we live, and so do our neighborhoods."

"And so do the things we read," broke in John Rogers, "and maybe the towns we live in do, too."

"And the 'movies,' too. They influence us in many ways."

A chorus of approval was heard over the room, and while Ben hastily began to fill in the outline for study, other suggestions began to come.

"The radio ought to be studied," suggested Sally Walker ; "my father broadcasts, and he says that they have to be very careful about the kinds of people they let go on the air. They cut one man off the other night, right in the middle of a sentence."

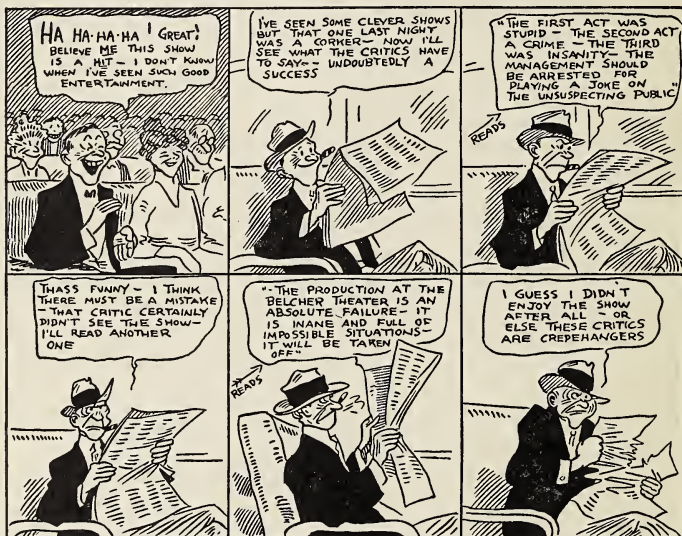
"They would," said Jack Donlan. "That shows us another problem for our program, Mr. President — freedom of speech and freedom of the press. I'd like to read up on the Constitution and the writings of our leaders and discuss how we can protect liberty in America."

¹ From *Contact* No. 17, published by Edward L. Bernays, Public Relations Counsel, New York City.

Ben added it to his growing list of problems.

"What about the social organizations of the community?" asked Mr. Harris, the teacher, who had listened to the discussion until now. "Don't most grown-ups get many of their ideas from other people in lodge meetings and rotary club meetings and the like?"

"Yes, and don't forget the labor unions and the Ku-Klux Klan and the Ladies' Aid Society and the card clubs and such



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FIG. 2. "Somebody is always taking the joy out of life." Which of the problems of American culture does this cartoon illustrate? (From *Oh, Man!* by Briggs)

organizations," said Tom. "Mr. President, I think we should include a study of all these social organizations. Let's get some first-hand facts."

There was a lull in the discussion, and then Henry continued the report of the committee.

"So much for those problems. But there are other very important ones. There's one suggested by this cartoon."

Exclamations of interest were heard as the members of the club gathered around: "Oh, the Mechanical Man!" . . . "Televox

again." . . . "Give us more like that." . . . "But what are the problems, Henry?"

Henry held up a copy of a current magazine. "Well, I suggest that we all read the article by Stuart Chase in this month's issue.¹ It tells of a more exciting change in our ways of living than any we have yet studied. In Milwaukee, part of the A. O. Smith plant which manufactures automobile frames is actually running today almost without men. Five years ago there were 2000 men in the factory. Today it is running with 200. Why? Merely because clever machines do all the work. Imagine what that means for the future."

"Well," spoke up John Rogers, "I don't see any serious problems in the idea of having factories that would run themselves. I think that would be a fine thing."

"You do? Imagine what it would mean if the automobile factory in our town should introduce such machines. It would mean, John, that your father and Mary's, too, would be out of jobs. It would throw more than 1200 men out of work, and that would affect more than 6000 people. Then suppose the same thing happened in the canning factory, in the chair shop, and the other factories in this town. And suppose it happened in thousands of other communities in the United States?"

"Well," spoke up John Rogers, "I still don't see how the plan of having factories that run themselves is a bad one. Everybody would work less time. Wouldn't that be a fine thing? Wouldn't that raise our standard of living still higher? Almost nobody would have to do heavy labor."



FIG. 3. The mechanical man sweeps out the workers. What problem does this illustrate? (Courtesy of the *Locomotive Engineers' Journal*)

¹ *Fortune*, November, 1930.

Henry rose, took up several manuscripts, newspapers, and magazines, and spread them out on the table in the center of the room.

"Let us consider John's objections carefully," he said. "Take as an important example the unemployment problem itself. In our town of 35,000 more than 500 men are out of work. In the

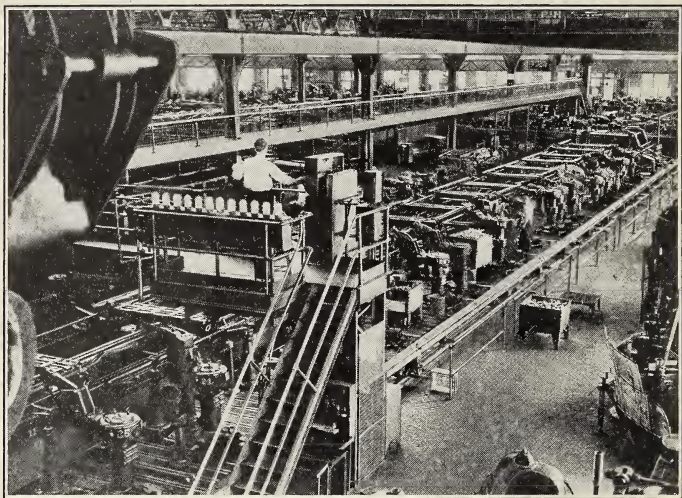


FIG. 4. A scene in the factory where 200 men are taking the place of 2000
(By Rittase, from *Fortune*)

United States at times more than 5,000,000 men have been out of work. Nevertheless more machines are being invented every day which are throwing men out of work. Some men throughout the country have been out of work for a year, and they're desperate. I think we should try to learn what is being done about it. How are these men going to find work? They and their families must not be allowed to starve. Is the government going to help them? Instead of discharging employees, are hours of work going to be reduced for all, and wages kept up also?"

"That's already happening in some of our largest industries," said Ben Pillsbury (see figure 5). "Only last week the four Railroad Brotherhoods signed an agreement with the railroads

of the country that their working day should be only six hours and their wages should be the same as they received for the longer working day."

"Yes, but if machines increase too rapidly, hasn't the government itself got to have something to do with the problem?" asked Henry. "That's the first thing we are suggesting."

Mr. Harris now offered another suggestion: "Such articles as that by Mr. Chase merely remind us of the important cultural problems that remain to be studied. The startling increase in machines and unemployment shows us that we should study some of the changes that our new civilization is making in the lives of our people. In the preceding two years we have studied chiefly about economic and political problems. There are other equally important and difficult matters which we should think about together."

Elizabeth Staunton interrupted again: "I see some other very important problems that relate to machines and unemployment. For example, what shall people do with their increasing leisure time? Hours of work are decreasing. Are people simply going to sit around and quarrel, play pool or play cards all day, or read detective stories?"

RAIL UNIONS AGREE ON SHORTER HOURS

Executives Will Push Drive for
Six-Hour Day and Five-Day
Week Separately.

150,000 NEW JOBS IS AIM

Leaders Are Expected to Discuss
Plans With Rail Chiefs Before
Resorting to Mediation.

By LOUIS STARK.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 10. — Unanimous agreement on a program which, it is said, would restore 150,000 unemployed railroad workers to service was reached today by representatives of the Railway Labor Executives Association, which consists of the twenty-one railway labor unions whose contracts affect the employment of 1,600,000 men.

The program calls for immediate starting of a movement for a six-hour day for men in the transportation service and a five-day week for most of the men in shop service and in maintenance work. The six-hour day will also be sought for those men in the shop and switching service whose working conditions permit such a demand to be made.

FIG. 5¹

¹ From the *New York Times* for December 11, 1930. Reset in different type.

Henry nodded, "Elizabeth, you have hit upon one very important group of problems; namely, how people use their leisure time."

"One thing has been bothering me," said Jack. "I don't think that all the good things of life come because of the job one holds or the money one gets. Now, my dad's a mechanic and gets small pay, but we've got a mighty good home. I mean — er — er — it's happy, even if we don't have much money. Doesn't that suggest a problem to study?"

Mr. Harris said: "I'm glad you mentioned that, John. That's one of the points I had hoped someone would bring up. As we study American culture we shall find many examples of those who have little money and yet lead fine, happy lives."

The discussion of other problems went on animatedly, and soon the president, Ben Pillsbury, called the club to order.

"I suggest that now we go over our list of problems," he said, pointing to the blackboard, "revise them, and decide on the one with which to begin our study."

The club eagerly entered into this work and before the end of the morning had their plan perfected. It included most of the problems they had already discussed and a few more which they thought of later.

We too must now study some of the more recent
changes in American culture

Throughout the four preceding volumes¹ of this series one central theme has been emphasized — change, ever more rapid change. Change in ways of producing food, shelter, and clothing, change in the methods of exchanging goods, in the means of transportation and communication. Government changed, too, but changes in national government came more slowly because it was difficult to make changes in the Constitution. All these ways of living we called *our changing civilization*.

Now we must study other changes in ways of living and other aspects of American culture. We must try to see what the life of

¹ Harold Rugg, *An Introduction to American Civilization*; *Changing Civilizations in the Modern World*; *A History of American Civilization*; *A History of American Government and Culture*. Ginn and Company, Boston, 1929-1931.

the individual American really is, as he lives from day to day in this new industrial civilization.

To do so we must see men and women, boys and girls, in the groups in which their lives are lived. We must see them in their communities, in their neighborhoods, in their families, and in their clubs and organizations. Each of these groups helps to make them what they are. Each molds their opinions and beliefs, how they feel and think about things, their likes and dislikes, their hopes and wants.

But in addition to these groups the multitude of non-human things about them also influence them seriously—their automobiles, the newspapers, magazines, and books they read, the “movies” they see, the things they hear over the radio, the mass of advertising that meets their eyes on every side, the schools and colleges they attend. Thus we must study these important factors which make the American what he is today.

We remind you as we did in Volume IV that, although the term *American culture* may seem somewhat unusual to you, it is really a very important one to know and to use. It is easily understood, for, as used in these books, it merely means the typical ways of living of the American people. It includes the mechanical civilization which was studied in Volumes I and II, the production of food, clothing, and shelter. It includes the government under which we live. But, in addition, it includes all the other aspects which we have just enumerated.

There is another reason for learning to use the term *American culture* when thinking about American life. The word *culture*



FIG. 6. The city and its many problems. How many can you name now? (Courtesy of the Better Traffic Committee and the Bureau of Traffic Planning, City of Pittsburgh)

reminds us that all our ways of living are to be studied together. As you have learned in previous studies, government, manufacturing, trade, farming, did not develop separately; they all developed together as a part of American life. But with them also developed other aspects of American life — home, family, and neighborhood life, thousands of communities, a nation-wide system of newspapers and magazines. Now all these grew up together in American history. Taken together they are the American ways of living today.

Hence, to sum them up easily and to remind ourselves that they must always be seen together, we call them all *American culture*.

**A new Industrial Revolution has been changing
American culture since 1890**

In this volume, as in the preceding volumes, we shall try to use history to understand the present. That is, to understand our



FIG. 7. *The Tramp*: "Yes, sir! We're the richest nation on earth." (Byck in *The Brooklyn Daily Times*)

changing American culture we shall try to see and feel it changing. We shall try to see especially how the important aspects of American culture have been changed by the Industrial Revolution. In this volume, however, instead of studying the three-hundred-year-long sweep of the whole Industrial Revolution,¹ we shall study (with a few exceptions) the startling developments of the past 40 years. This period may be called the New Industrial Revolution to distinguish it from the earlier industrial be-

ginnings in the 1700's and 1800's. We shall refer to 1890, therefore, not as a sharp beginning point of something entirely new,

¹ As we did in *An Introduction to American Civilization*, in *Changing Civilizations in the Modern World*, and in *A History of American Civilization*.

but as a convenient date with which to contrast modes of living which are found today in America.

Since 1890 more rapid changes have come in ways of living in industrial countries than in hundreds of years before that time. In 1890, for example, there were no practicable automobiles or "movies" or radios. Telephones had not been adopted widely. Corporations were in their infancy. Since that time every aspect of American culture has changed with startling rapidity. Invention has been taken over by Big Business. Machines are displacing men from their jobs with terrifying speed. Cities are growing out of all proportion to earlier rates of development and are becoming impersonal places in which to live. The wants of the people are multiplying; hours of labor are decreasing but people are becoming more restless. Life is speeding up as all the agencies of transportation, communication, and production move faster and faster. Some of these recent changes are so conspicuous, therefore, that we shall study them carefully.

**American culture can be studied best through studying
community life**

There will be another important difference between your work this semester and that of previous years. Up to this point you have devoted your study largely to national conditions and problems. In this volume you will center attention upon ways of living in the local community.

The very foundation of our national culture is found in the communities of America. It is within the community that most of us live the larger part of our lives. It is within the community that we earn our living, that we sleep and eat, converse with our friends, go to the theater, dance, listen to music, engage in games.

To understand American culture, therefore, you must understand the communities of our country. You must see men and women, boys and girls, working and playing together in their communities. You must see opinions and beliefs being formed. You must observe how prejudices and enthusiasms determine how people get along together in neighborhood and family, on

the job, in the club. You must see men governing and being governed. You must try to visualize the great range and variety of modes of living in the communities of America.

To do so your study must be twofold: first, a study of your own community; second, a study of other kinds of communities throughout America.

For an understanding of the former, organize a survey of life in your village, town, or city. Study the history of your town, gathering together copies of old records. Try to understand the people who founded it and developed it into what it is today. Try to understand the neighborhoods, the family life, social organizations, the real government. Study the needs and try to learn how to improve the community in which you live.

IMPORTANT TOPICS AND QUESTIONS WHICH WILL GUIDE OUR STUDY

1. *The chief groups in which Americans live and their influence on changing American culture:* the family, the neighborhood, the social organizations, the school group, the work group. How did these change as the New Industrial Revolution developed?

2. *How Americans are molded by the groups in which they live.* To what extent do the family, the neighborhood, and the community in which we live determine our opinions and beliefs, our likes and dislikes, our friendships, our politics, our jobs and our careers — in short, our whole outlook on life? How are these formed by the social organizations to which we belong?

3. *How the work that people do determines their opinions and ways of thinking about life.* Does the man in a profession — the engineer, the doctor, the lawyer, the teacher — look upon life from the same point of view as the carpenter, the plumber, the clerk — the skilled and semiskilled worker?

4. *Our changing community government.* How is government carried on in American communities? Is the "paper" government the *real* government? Who governs? By what method? How efficient is the real government? Is the average citizen informed about and interested in the government of his community? Is community government really representative?

5. *The press and American culture.* What do our people read? What are the chief characteristics of this reading matter? To what extent are the opinions and beliefs, attitudes and points of view, of the Americans determined by the newspapers, magazines, and books which they read? What factors control the press in America?

6. *Public opinion and how it is formed.* What is public opinion? To what extent is it determined by family, neighborhood, and community life? by organizations? by persons in control of industry and business? by persons in control of the government? by the press?

7. *Our population of many races and nationalities and the new culture that they are forming.* To what extent are we making the cultures of the foreign-born in America a part of our American culture? Are the "new" immigrants becoming a true part of American life? Are we forming a single new American culture or is it a patchwork of different ones?

8. *The changing leisure of the common man.* What does the American do with his increasing leisure time? What are his chief recreations? In what ways are they changing?

9. *The changing standards and customs of the people.* What are the principal interests of the people? Are they making a better living, accumulating more property? Are their wants few and simple or rapidly multiplying and extravagant? What do they value most in life?

10. *The new age of social planning which America is just entering.* To what extent are the various aspects of American culture now being definitely directed by planning? How has the swift rise of cities compelled careful community planning? How are the changing conceptions of life bringing about planning?

11. *How education changes American culture.* What are the chief factors that are bringing about universal education? How is the new education unlike the old? What relation has it to the planned development of American culture?

These are the important topics and questions which will guide our study of American culture.

UNIT II

AMERICAN CULTURE AND CHANGING
GROUP LIFE

CHAPTER II

AMERICA: A NATION OF COMMUNITIES

Mr. Harris opened the second meeting of the Social Science Club with a question: "How many communities do you think there are in the United States?" For a moment there was silence. Then Will Thompson, a new member, spoke up, "I think — at least a thousand."

"Oh, many more than that," said Sarah Hall, as a score of exclamations were then heard from all parts of the room. "There must be a thousand in our state alone. Mr. Harris, I say 50,000."

Other answers were given, one as large as 100,000. Ben Pillsbury, the president of the club, tabulated them on the blackboard. Then the results were arranged as in the adjoining table.

Which answer do you think is most nearly correct? How many communities are there in the United States? Before you turn to page 22, make your own estimate; then check it by comparing it with Table II.

TABLE I

| NUMBER OF COMMUNITIES IN THE UNITED STATES | NUMBER OF PU- PILS WHO GAVE THE ANSWER |
|---|--|
| 1,000 | 1 |
| 5,000 | 2 |
| 8,000 | 2 |
| 10,000 | 5 |
| 15,000 | 5 |
| 20,000 | 8 |
| 30,000 | 3 |
| 40,000 | 1 |
| 50,000 | 1 |
| 100,000 | 1 |

COMMUNITIES OF EVERY SIZE AND KIND

Table II partly answers our question concerning the total number of American communities today. But it does not by any means tell the whole story. You will note that the "little villages" are incorporated villages — that is, they are communities with a regular government organized according to the laws of the state. Now, many thousands of villages and hamlets are not incorporated. Yet they are true communities in the sense that



FIG. 8. Some communities of the United States are like this one. They are made up of hundreds of comfortable suburban homes



FIG. 9. Some communities are more like this lonely crossroad hamlet — just a few homes in a rural district



FIG. 10. Others resemble this mining town hidden away at the base of a range of mountains. In them hundreds of people do much the same kind of work



FIG. 11. Still other communities of the United States are large cities in which many kinds of industry are carried on and hundreds of thousands of people live

they are groups of people living together with certain common interests. There is no good information as to how many of these unincorporated places there are in the entire country, but it is certain that there are many thousands of them. If we add these to the places given in Table II there is reason to believe that there are quite 30,000 large and small communities in the United States. Are you not astonished at the fact that there are 30,000 different cities, towns, villages, and hamlets in the United States?

TABLE II

| Type of Community | Population | No. of Communities | Per Cent of Total Number | | | | | | | | | |
|--|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|--|
| | | | 10 | 20 | 30 | 40 | 50 | 60 | 70 | 80 | 90 | |
| The Cosmopolitan Metropolis | More than 1,000,000 | 5 | | | | | | | | | | |
| The Large Manufacturing and Trading City | 100,000 to 1,000,000 | 88 | | | | | | | | | | |
| "Middletown" | 25,000 to 100,000 | 283 | | | | | | | | | | |
| The Small Town | 2,500 to 25,000 | 2,789 | | | | | | | | | | |
| The Little Village (Incorporated) | Less than 2,500 | 13,433 | | | | | | | | | | |

The incorporated communities of the United States in 1930. The total number probably does not represent many more than half of all the communities of our country

Note, too, the wide *range* of community life as shown by the table! At one extreme are a few great metropolitan cities crowded with their millions of human beings; at the other extreme, many thousands of hamlets and villages, each having a few score or a few hundred souls.

In another way, also, these communities differ widely. The city is a cosmopolitan community, a world community. Every race and nation of the six continents has contributed people to it. Within it are found people who live in luxury; others who live in comfort. Some just manage to "make ends meet," while still others cannot afford the bare necessities of life. The hamlets, on the contrary, are made up of groups of men, women, and children of relatively the same ancestry, having more or less the same wealth, the same ways of looking at life, the same occupations.

Thus in the great city is found a startling variety of life ; in the little hamlets there is much greater uniformity.

Between the two extremes of the great cities and the smallest hamlets is every variety of community possible. These communities differ in numbers of people, in wealth, in industries, in occupations, in interests. Some resemble the cosmopolitan cities more than they do the little villages ; others appear much more like the hamlets than the great cities.

But, be they large or small, wealthy or poor, old or new, it is the thousands of communities that make up the nation. The ways in which Americans live within them really determine what America is. And these ways of living, taken together, are what we call the culture of America.

**To understand American culture, we must understand
life in American communities**

Our knowledge of American culture, then, is to be obtained from the study of American communities. It is here that we see our people working, carrying on their government, taking their recreation — in fact, living their lives.

But, you are probably asking, since there are such vast differences in ways of living, how can we really know what community life is? Is there any one kind or type which can be called "the American community"? Let us see. We shall give a few word pictures of communities in America. As you read them, try to keep in mind the following questions :

1. In what ways are these communities like the one in which I live?
2. To what extent did geographic factors probably make them what they are? Why do people live in them?
3. What part does work play in the life of these communities? What kinds of work do the people do?
4. In which kinds of communities are people probably healthier? In which is life varied? In which is it more monotonous? In which is life leisurely? In which is it hurried?

These questions can be only partially answered from this chapter. Keep them in mind as you study the other problems of the book.

SOME WORD PICTURES OF AMERICAN COMMUNITIES

1. Hamlets and villages

a. Have you seen a cotton-mill village like this one in the South?

Five o'clock in the morning. A harsh steam whistle cuts the silence with a mighty blast. Long before this the village has been awake. Smoke rises from the chimneys of the wooden houses that line the streets. Through the lighted windows women are seen cooking breakfast. The men are stooping to pull on their shoes



FIG. 12. This is also a street in a cotton-mill village. It is much more attractive than the one described in the text

or standing before looking-glasses, combing vigorously at sleep-tousled hair. Other members of the family, young women and children, hurry about preparing for the work of the day.

Five-thirty. Another blast of the whistle is heard. The mill worker and his family sit down silently to breakfast, intent only upon eating quickly so as to be at the mill on time. At a quarter before six, a third blast brings men, women, and children hurrying up the streets toward the brick building that is in the center of the village. On a huge circular steel tank are lettered the words "Southern Cotton Mills." At five-fifty-five the final summons blows and the machinery is set in motion. The day's grind has begun.

Beyond the mill lies the crude little business district. This consists of a post office, a pool room, a cold-drink stand, and a general-merchandise store. Farther down the street squat two rows of small houses of three or four rooms each, all alike. No trees shelter the houses or streets from the pitiless sun, which grows hotter as the morning advances. In the back yards are small garden patches, rags, and broken toys. Porches are cluttered with old chairs; wooden steps seem about to collapse.

The twelve-o'clock whistle blows. The workers hurry home hungrily to a meager dinner. Whistles blow at twelve-thirty, twelve-forty-five, twelve-fifty-five. Whistles, whistles, whistles — lives regulated by whistles. Again the machinery hums until six, when the whistle dismisses the employees. The day's work is done.¹

When dinner is over, the housewives wash the dishes, while the others in the mill families sit on the porches. Some of the younger men stroll down the street toward the pool room. A few play, while the rest stand in front gossiping and chatting. At a little after eight, the mill workers begin to yawn. Soon they stroll back to their homes, and one by one lights begin to appear. The town is preparing for bed. One almost awaits the sound of another whistle as first one and then another of the lights disappear. Soon the mill village is asleep.

This is an American industrial community. Many villages and towns like it are scattered over our Northeastern and Southern states.

b. Do you know a community like this Western sheep-and-cattle hamlet?

Rock Creek's 300 people all live on one street. The street is really the bottom of a crooked gulch, with houses perched at the foot of the hills, just as though they had slid down and stopped there. Mere shacks — for eating, sleeping, and keeping warm and dry — are slapped together in haphazard fashion. There are few lawns or flowers. A few scraggly rosebushes, sunflowers, and dogfennel grow wild along the dusty road. The garage is the only concrete building, square and ugly. The hotel is of dingy wood,

¹ Of course not in all cotton-mill towns are the hours of work so long or the surroundings quite so dreary.

with a shaky porch extending across the front. Here visiting ranchers loaf, sitting upon the sagging chairs, their feet on the rail, spitting tobacco juice and discussing local events.

Around the bend, in front of the "Tourist" garage, comes a four-horse team and wagon, the driver cracking a long whip. The chickens that have been scratching at the scattered straw in front of the livery barn scamper out of the way. The wagon stops in front of the general store. It is loaded high with chunks of reddish rock salt for cattle and sheep, boxes of canned provisions, sacks of dried fruit, crates of harness and packsaddles — everything the ranchers for 100 or more miles around may need. Even pitchfork handles stick out from above the top of the load. Rock Creek is the "shopping center" for the ranchers.

The driver jumps down from the high spring seat and begins to "unhook." Although he is young, his back is bent, despite the foot-wide leather belt around his waist, intended to keep him up straight during his long trips over the bumpy, rocky road. He is a freighter, and hauls supplies for sheep and cattle men from the nearest railroad station, which is 30 miles away.

Presently the freighter crosses the street to the hotel, washes his hands and face in a basin on the front-porch washstand, and goes in to eat in "American," or family, style. Eight or ten other men — most of them ranchers and only in the village for the day — sit around the table.

"Pass the potatoes, please," says the freighter.

As he covers them with brown gravy, he volunteers to his neighbor, "I see John Platt's sheep out Deer Creek way today."

"I hear he's got 20,000 pounds of wool and getting 50 cents the pound," the neighbor answers.

"Them sheep men's doin' a lot better than us fellers with cattle," remarks a tall man, getting up and walking to the side-board to get a pitcher of water. "I lost fifteen head of them last winter, all when the freeze come. Ruined my profits."

"Speakin' of profits," says the freighter, "I brought in a radio for Jack Parks marked 90 dollars."

"Well," remarks a youth with riveted leather cuffs on his wrists, "we gotta have radios and picture shows now that the women is coming into this kiote country."

"You'd better get one, Jo," jibes the freighter. "It's goin' to be lonesome in that shack of yours, and those sour-dough bannocks you make will kill you yet."

Then he adds, "Well, I got to be goin'. So long, boys." The freighter rises and clumps toward the door. "See you later."

There are many little hamlets similar to this in the West.

c. Are you familiar with this kind of community in America?

Picture a little hamlet of 100 persons hidden in a lovely wooded valley of the Catskill Mountains. Everywhere are neat farms, woods, and rolling fields. Some of the fields are sown to hay or corn, others to potatoes or oats. Beyond them on the slopes of the mountains are thick woods, which in the hunting season shelter deer, muskrats, bears, gray and red foxes, minks, opossums, squirrels, and wildcats. This sounds quite like the long-disappeared frontier, doesn't it?

About midway down the valley a tiny canal flows by a power station which supplies the electric current for the hamlet. Two men run the power plant. Opposite the power station Asa Peckham carries on his business. He is the postmaster for the settlement and the proprietor of the general store. The nearest physician is three miles distant, and the nearest lawyer is twelve miles away.

The whole hamlet is really one compact neighborhood in itself. Excepting only Peckham and the two men at the power station, everyone farms. Some of the farmers take in boarders during the summer, but most of them just farm. After harvest is over and during the winter, most of the younger men work at "pick and shovel" on the roads or in the railroad shops of the near-by town.

It's a neighborly little place; everybody knows everybody else in the valley. Elisha Jones, on an errand to the general store, sees Jim McGonigle mending his fence. He stops to pass the time of day with him.

"Your corn's the finest in the valley, Jim. Another week of heat like this and it'll be the best ever raised in this neighborhood."

"Your own ain't so bad, 'Lisha. Passed it when I was going to Centerville the other day."

A tight little neighborhood, indeed. People, work, houses, fields, and interests all much the same. And many such communities can be found in America.

As you have seen, these very small American communities are different from one another. They are different in geography, in industry, in population, in interests and ideas. There are thousands of such villages in America.

2. Thousands of middle-sized communities

a. Or do you live in a retired-farmer town like this one?

Situated in the prairie wheat country is Greenville, a retired-farmer town, the county seat, and the center toward which the produce of the countryside moves. Slater's flour mill is on the corner alongside the new concrete bridge. Near at hand the tinny, dust-covered, grain elevator signals to the visitor who gets his first view of Greenville from the rocking interurban car. Wright's lumberyard, wire-inclosed and smelling of pitchy pine, marks one end of Madison Street. At the other end stands the old seminary, dilapidated now since the awakened interest in public schools has taken hold of Greenville. A bond issue has made it possible for this county seat to build the half-million-dollar junior-senior high school, which is today the pride of all the town.

Ten miles of pavement radiate from the hub of the County Courthouse Square. Business as well as law centers there. As early as 1870, a heavy oaken rail served for hitching the farm horses, which stood shoulder to shoulder through the heat of a summer's day while their masters bargained their produce for hardware or groceries or exchanged the gossip of the countryside for the news of happenings in the towns and cities near by. Now the rail and its stone supports are gone. Instead, mud-splattered "flivvers" and other "American" cars are parked within their white-lined spaces on the new pavement.

Nevertheless Greenville is a "small town" in its appearance as well as in what it does. For the common run of the business buildings — the grocery stores, markets, the five-and-ten-cent

store, Clay the photographer's place, the hardware stores, the jeweler's store, dry-goods stores, furnishing stores — are one-story affairs. On the east side, however, the Citizens Trust dominates the business of the sunny side of the square, rising a



FIG. 13. This is not the retired-farmer town described in the text. It is similar to it, however, as are dozens of others

full story above its comrades of one-story, salmon-colored brick. Greenville, now boasting of three other banks, has grown to be the center of business for the farmers round about.

b. Perhaps your community is a manufacturing city like Floral Heights.

"The bungalows and shrubs and winding irregular driveways of Floral Heights. The one-story shops on Smith Street, a glare of plate glass and new yellow brick; groceries and laundries and drug stores to supply the more immediate needs of East Side housewives. The market gardens in Dutch Hollow, their shanties patched with corrugated iron and stolen doors. Billboards with crimson goddesses nine feet tall advertising moving-picture films, pipe tobacco, and talcum powder. The old 'mansions' along Ninth Street, S.E., like aged dandies in filthy linen; wooden

castles turned into boarding houses, with muddy walks and rusty hedges, jostled by fast-intruding garages, cheap apartment houses, and fruit stands. Across the belt of railroad tracks, factories with high-perched water tanks and tall stacks — factories producing condensed milk, paper boxes, lighting fixtures, motor cars. Then the business center, the thickening darting traffic, the crammed trolleys unloading, and high doorways of marble and polished granite.”¹

c. Do you know coal towns like these?

Two wooded mountain ranges, 1000 feet high, rise above a gleaming river. On the lower slopes little communities have grown up so close together that they seem to overlap. All of them lie clustered about a fairly large city. Even those on the opposite bank of the river seem to be huddling as close to the city as the river will permit. Satellite towns they are!

The villages and the city have one chief interest, and that is coal. The people live by it — they mine it, they buy and sell it, they ship it to distant places. Their houses are built above it. Their communities are dingy with the dust of it. Coal-breakers interrupt the skyline. Mines and miners are everywhere. The welfare and happiness of the people center about coal.

From the drab rows of houses which flank the streets of the smaller communities one enters the city itself. Here a miner wearing his strangely shaped cap with lamp attached, his face and clothing covered with coal dust, is so rare a sight that you are startled if you meet one. To be sure, many of them will be mingling with the vast crowd that is poured into the public square on Saturday night by the street cars running to and from the surrounding country, but you will never be able to pick them out, for their faces are washed, and they are wearing their best store clothes.

Main Street and Market Street, which cut diagonally across the square, are the main business arteries of the city. There is a flourishing retail trade, and a stranger is struck by the number of banks and the handsome buildings occupied by them. . . .

¹ Adapted from Sinclair Lewis's *Babbitt* (Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1922), p. 31.

Beauty as well as business flourishes here! The public square and the river common, — the former comprising 4 acres and the latter 35, — which were laid out in 1770, are carefully kept up and much used.

The town was settled many years before the Revolution by a hardy band of New Englanders. The descendants of the original settlers live today in the pretentious homes of the city and across the river in small aristocratic communities. Later comers of Anglo-Saxon, Celtic, and Teutonic stock have been partially Americanized. Still later comers of Slavic and Italian stock — first imported, it is said, by the coal operators during the labor troubles in the mines about 1880 — are still foreigners so far as the social life in the community is concerned.¹

You have had a glimpse of three of America's middle-sized communities. Each is utterly different from the others, just as they are different from the hamlets and villages. And these are, after all, only three of many thousands. Is there not great variety in the communities of America?

3. Still other kinds of communities: our great cities

a. Do you live in a steel-manufacturing center?

"A man traveling across the land for the very first time slips into a strange town — after dark. He awakens the next morning very early — at least it must be very early, for it is still dark. It is dark, indeed, as he stumbles his way across the room to the electric switch. In the sudden radiance that follows, he fumbles in his pockets and finds his watch. Ten minutes to nine, it says to him.

"'Stopped,' says the man, half aloud. 'That's another time I forgot to wind it.'

"But the watch has not stopped. It is ticking briskly. The man is perplexed. He goes to the window and peeps out from it. A great office building across the way is gaily alight — a strange performance for before dawn of a September morning. He looks down into the street. Two long files of brightly lighted cars are passing through the street, one up, the other down. The glistening

¹ This description is written from suggestions obtained from an article on a coal town, by Annie H. Roller, in *The Survey*, February 1, 1926, pp. 534-538.

pavements are peopled, the stores are brightly lighted — the man glances at his watch again. Eight minutes to nine, it tells him this time.

"He smiles as he gazes down into that busy street.

"'This is the Smoky City,' he says.

"Later that day that same man stands in another window, of a tall skyscraper this time, and gazes down. There are smoke and



FIG. 14. There are several busy steel-manufacturing cities like this one, where smoke and dirt are always in the air

fog and dirt there. Through these — showing ever and ever so faintly — are seen tall, artificial cliffs, punctured with row upon row of windows, brightly lighted at midday. From the narrow gorges between these cliffs come the rustle and the rattle of traffic. These noises come to the man in waves of indefinite sound.

"He lifts his gaze and sees, beyond these artificial cliffs, mountains — real mountains — towering, with houses upon their crests, and steep, inclined railroads climbing their steep sides. In these houses, also, there are lights burning at midday. Below them are great stacks, — row upon row of them, like coarse-toothed combs turned upside down, — and the black smoke that

pours up from them is pierced now and then and again by bright tongues of flame — the radiance of furnaces that glow throughout the night and day.

“‘We’re mud and dirt up to our knees — and money all the rest of the way,’ says the owner of that office. He is a native of the city. He comes to the window and points to one of the rivers — a yellow-brown mirrored surface, scarcely glistening under leaden clouds, but bearing long tows by the dozen — coal barges, convoyed by dirty stern-wheeled steamboats.

“‘There is one of the busiest harbors in the world,’ says the man. ‘A harbor which in tonnage is not so far back of your own blessed New York.’

“The New Yorker, for this man is a New Yorker, laughs at the very idea of calling that sluggish narrow river a harbor. They have a real harbor in his town and real rivers lead into it. This does not even seem a real river. It reminds him quite definitely of Newtown Creek — that slimy, busy waterway along which trains used to pass in the days when the Thirty-fourth-Street ferry was the gateway to Long Island.”¹

b. Do you live in a port city like this?

Shipping and trading — these give life to a great city spread along the finest harbor on the Pacific coast. Ranges of hills lie close to the bay. At their feet, docks, dozens of them, yearly welcome thousands of ships and bid Godspeed to thousands more. There are ships which visit the ports of the Orient or glide through the Panama Canal on their way to the ports of the Atlantic. Still others bring to the city a host of foreign-born — East Indians, Mexicans, Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos — who mingle on the streets with the descendants of the Western pioneers.

Behind the docks lie the warehouses, in which great cargoes are stored. Through the most level portion of the city, the bustling business section has grown up. Here cargoes are bought and sold, shipping is arranged, and much of the “shopping” of the great city goes on amid the din of city noise — the clanging of

¹ Adapted from Edward Hungerford's *The Personality of American Cities* (Robert M. McBride & Company, New York, 1913), pp. 171-173.

trolley-car bells, the tooting of automobile horns, and the cry of street venders. Long, straight streets stretch upward and back into the hills, where they disappear over the tops.



FIG. 15. The great port city of the West spreads upward from the coast into the hills. Note the docks and the business section with its skyscrapers. Can you guess which city it is?

Here is a city of 42 square miles housing nearly 1,000,000 people. A wealth of romance in American history and in world shipping and trade lies in the story of its growth.

c. Perhaps you live in the great city.

New York, the metropolis! A community praised by Walt Whitman as the

City of hurried and sparkling waters! city
of spires and masts!
City nested in bays! my city!¹

Let us look at the metropolis from the hills of New Jersey. Across the water rise tall buildings against the sky, the guardians of the great city itself. The city and the vast area around it

¹ Walt Whitman, *Leaves of Grass*, pp. 256-257. Doubleday, Doran & Company, New York, 1923.

are linked together by ribbons of rails and asphalt highways, by massive bridges, and by ferryboats plying back and forth on New York Bay and the Hudson River. Thousands of residents of the New Jersey suburbs use these avenues every day to go back and forth from and to their work in the city.

On closer view we see that New York is not one community, but a patchwork of neighborhoods and communities, each with its small stores, its restaurants, its "movie" houses, and its residential sections. There is a financial district, a theater district, a market area, a garment-trade center. Within a few blocks of one another are centers for furs, lace, silk, hats, gloves, and clothing for men, women, and children. One can find an antique-store neighborhood, a secondhand-book district, a hardware-store district, a copper town, and a brass town. There are shopping districts, commercial districts, hotel districts, apartment-house districts, and tenement districts.

The average dweller in this metropolis goes the same beaten path every day. In the morning he leaves his home and rushes to the subway. Later he emerges from this noisy tunnel into the canyons of Wall Street or wherever his business takes him. At the end of the day he goes home by the same route. If the evening is spent at the theater, this New Yorker will go to the district of the Great White Way. Occasionally he may ride on the bus up the Fifth Avenue of smart shops and busy throngs.

Other sections of the city he has only glimpsed or has never seen. Greenwich Village is to him a region of winding, crowded streets, where "Bohemians" live in old residential houses made over into apartments. The East Side calls to mind passing views of dark streets, noisy elevated trains, children playing hopscotch in side streets, and sidewalk venders selling everything from bananas to ten-cent socks. Brooklyn he sees from the windows of an office building in Wall Street, as he looks across the river toward the east. Harlem, he has heard, is a place where the Negroes live. The Italian quarter south of Washington Street, The Little Syria of Washington Street, The Athens of Pearl Street, and the Sparta of the Tenderloin — all may be mere names to him.

The New Yorker sees trees and grass only in Central Park or along Riverside Drive, and in the tiny squares overshadowed by

buildings, where trees struggle for existence and dusty grass is encircled by concrete walks. Other parks are so far away that he stays at home rather than battle subway crowds to reach them.

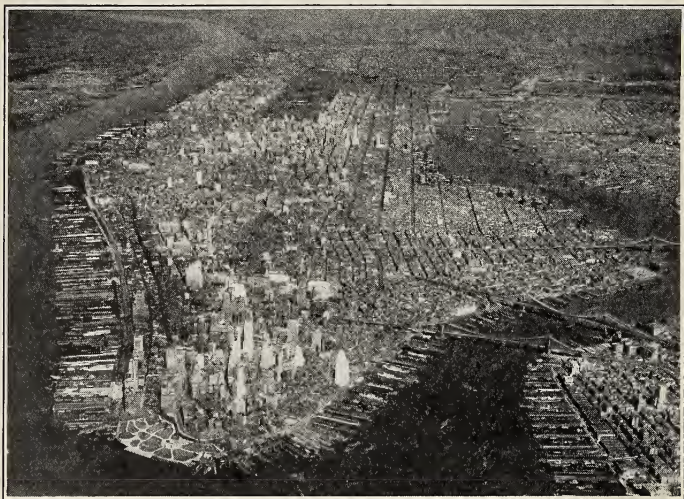


FIG. 16. It is not difficult to understand from this picture that very few people of New York really know their own city. It is a great collection of neighborhoods and communities within the great metropolis. (Fairchild Aerial Surveys, Inc.)

A fascinating city is this New York. Millions tread its sidewalks. Thousands of homes lie under its roofs. How immense are its buildings, how varied its life!

These canyons, these pinnacles and spires, these high-thrust terraces of Babylon, these airy wire-hung bridges . . . this sky-line — these million lights, blinking massed and scattered through the city's vast night — these achieve a poignant beauty of line and atmosphere.¹

Towns! Towns! Towns!

Word pictures of nine American communities have been set before us. Only nine out of thousands! Can descriptions of these nine do more than hint at the kinds of life that go on in American

¹ Ernest Gruening (Editor), *These United States* (Second Series), p. 202. Horace Liveright, New York, 1924.

communities? Probably not. They are typical of some kinds of community life but not of all. There are scores of kinds of communities to which we haven't referred at all in our descriptions.

The nation is, indeed, a great conglomeration of towns — Coal towns . . . Oil towns . . . Automobile towns . . . Gold and silver "boom" towns . . . Steel towns . . . Rubber towns . . . Lumber towns . . . Fishing towns . . . River towns . . . Railroad-shop towns . . . Small manufacturing towns . . . Retired-farmer towns . . . Cotton-mill towns . . . Woolen-mill towns . . . Machine-shop towns . . . Port towns . . . College towns . . . Immigrant towns . . . Towns! Towns! Towns!

But our illustrations have made one fact clear: There are astonishing differences in the kinds of communities of the United States. And since there are such different ways of living, the culture of the United States is a complicated thing to study.

Why communities grew

As you begin your study of American culture recall the reasons why communities, large and small, grew.

As you know, most people must work in order to live, and people live where they can find work. Hence the kind of work that people can do determines in part the kind of community which grows at a particular place. It also helps to account for the ways in which people live, what they think about, how they use their leisure time.

For example, in the great trading and manufacturing centers, like New York, Chicago, Seattle, St. Louis, Denver, and Minneapolis, the factories, stores, and railroads provide work for great numbers of people. On the other hand, in the rural village one finds a general store with one or two clerks, perhaps a barber shop, a school, and a church. Here there are no industries with a wide range of jobs, no large stores with their demand for many clerks. In the smallest hamlets there may be work for no more than ten or twelve people. Nevertheless here too the opportunities which the communities provide for work help to determine how fast they grow.

But you also know that the kind of work which people do is

largely determined by the "geography" of the region in which they live. Repeatedly in the previous volumes of this series we have illustrated the manner in which geographic factors determine the ways of living in a region. We found that there is a direct relation between the condition of the soil, the "lay of the land," the climate, the deposits in the earth of coal, oil, iron, or other minerals, the position of rivers and other waterways — in short, between "geography" and the work life of American communities. In this book we shall study this matter further. We shall see that these geographic factors not only direct the work of men and women; they also help to control other aspects of their culture.

We learned, however, that there were factors other than work which attracted people to some communities more than to others. Some communities are located in regions of stimulating and satisfying climate. Some are located in lovely wooded hills or broad, green, rolling valleys. Some are cities in which there are many organized activities and amusements which provide entertainment and employment. Others are quiet, attractive, suburban communities from which noisy, smoky factories have been excluded, and in which apartment houses are not permitted. Still others have colleges and fine schools which attract people with children who must be educated. Thus it is clear that many factors have brought about the varied community life of America.

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN COMMUNITIES PARALLELS THE HISTORY OF THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT

The old and the new

There are other differences among communities besides those in size, in occupations, and in ways of living. There are differences in age. Some of the old ones have grown very slowly; in fact, they have changed little from their seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century beginnings. Others have sprung up almost overnight like mushrooms, around spouting oil wells, gold and silver mines, or copper and zinc deposits. Once the natural resources which lured men to them were exhausted, some of these "boom" communities have disappeared as quickly as they grew, leaving only shells of habitations behind.

Study the graphs of figures 18-21 to see what happened in four communities of the United States. Do they help you to see that opportunities for making a living are responsible for the size of communities?

Indeed, as you yourself could conclude from your study of American history, the story of American communities parallels in general the story of the westward movement. Many villages

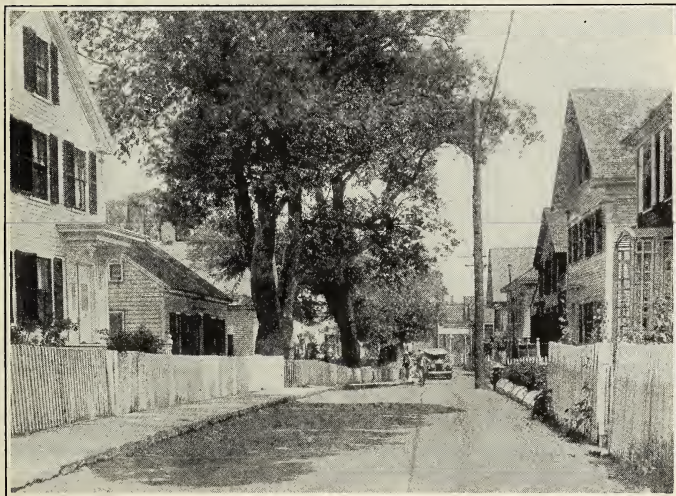


FIG. 17. A street in one of the older communities of our country which has changed little since it first grew up

and towns on the Atlantic coastal plain are from 200 to 300 years old. But most of those on the intermountain plateau and the prairies of our Western states are barely three quarters of a century old. A few in the Mississippi Valley look back upon a century or a century and a quarter of history.

THE DRIFT TO THE LARGER COMMUNITIES: THE MOST IMPORTANT SINGLE MOVEMENT IN CHANGING AMERICAN LIFE

In *An Introduction to American Civilization* and in *A History of American Civilization* we have frequently illustrated the rapid growth of towns and cities. No single movement in American

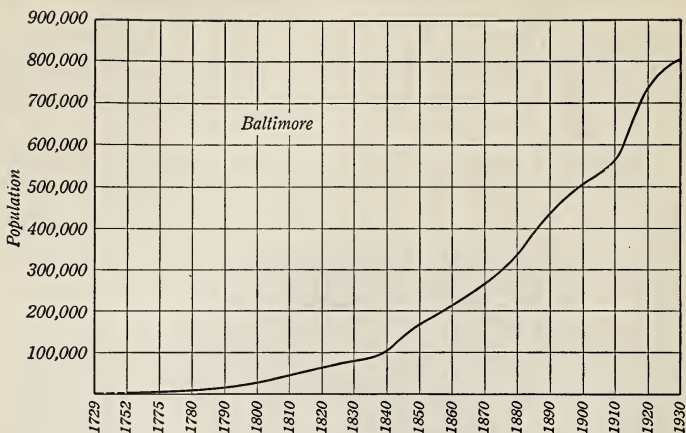


FIG. 18. Shipping and industrial expansion account for the steady growth of Baltimore

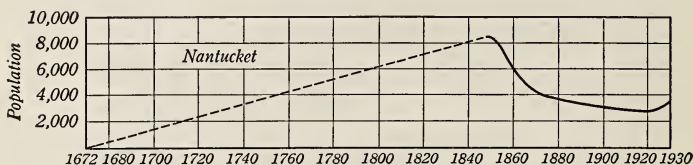


FIG. 19. As petroleum products replaced whale oil the population of Nantucket declined from about 8000 to less than 3000

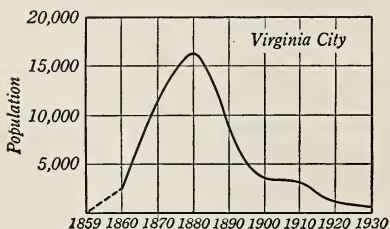


FIG. 20. After gold and silver were discovered near Virginia City it grew rapidly, but as the supply of these minerals became exhausted people moved on to other places. Today Virginia City contains merely a handful of people

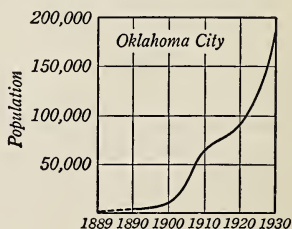


FIG. 21. The growth of Oklahoma City is even more spectacular than that of Virginia City. It too is a boom town, but the discovery of new deposits of oil is still sending its population line upward

history has affected the community life of the nation more strongly than the concentration of the population in towns and cities. Tables III and IV review the essential facts. Table III shows a significant increase in the number of large and middle-sized cities, an increase quite out of proportion to the increase

in the population itself.

TABLE III

| NUMBER OF COMMUNITIES OF VARIOUS SIZES IN THE UNITED STATES, 1890-1930 | | |
|---|--------------------------|--------|
| Population | Number of Communities | |
| | 1890 | 1930 |
| More than 1,000,000 | 3 | 5 |
| 100,000 - 1,000,000 | 25 | 88 |
| 25,000 - 100,000 | 96 | 283 |
| 2,500 - 25,000 | 1,293 | 2,789 |
| Less than 2,500 | 6,490 | 13,433 |

Read the story which Table III tells you. Compare the number of communities of each size in 1890 with the number of the same size in 1930. Is the story clear? Does it show that steadily villages have become towns and towns have become cities? Cities have grown larger and larger, a few becoming huge metropolitan centers.

Table IV also presents the nation-wide drift to towns and cities another way. It shows that although only 35.4 per cent of the American people lived in communities larger than 2500 in 1890, today more than 56 per cent do. Less than half live in villages, in rural districts, or on farms. Steadily, decade by decade, the lure of the larger community has become stronger. In your preceding studies you have already learned why this is true: the desire for work, the settling of immigrants in and near the port cities, the desire to be with large numbers of people, to have a varied life of amusement and entertainment, to hear fine music, to see fine plays, and to get a better education.

TABLE IV

| PER CENT OF AMERICANS LIVING IN COMMUNITIES LARGER THAN 2500 | |
|---|----------|
| Year | Per Cent |
| 1890 | 35.4 |
| 1900 | 40.0 |
| 1910 | 45.8 |
| 1920 | 51.4 |
| 1930 | 56.2 |

As we continue our study of community life in America, keep in mind that already the city has become the most important single type of community. In the cities the largest proportion of the nation's wealth is concentrated. It is there that the great banks and corporations, which play so important a part in our economic life, are located. It is in the cities that the headquarters

of the press are located — the great newspaper, magazine, and book corporations. The cities are our leading intellectual and cultural centers, having the most creative architecture, music, theaters, literature, painting, and sculpture. Many students believe, therefore, that the cities are increasingly determining the character of American civilization and culture.

This increasing influence of the city over the lives of our people is a matter of grave anxiety, however, to many careful students of our civilization. They are beginning to ask such important questions concerning it as these :

1. Is not the rapid growth of cities destroying the intimate neighborhood life of earlier times, substituting the crowded tenements and great impersonal apartment city blocks for the neighborly one-family and two-family houses of a generation ago?

2. Is it not inevitable that in the city crime will be much more prevalent and harder to control than in the villages and small towns?

3. Is not invisible government and the growing indifference and bewilderment of the average citizen to matters of government also inevitable in large cities?

4. Is not the life of the people in our larger cities growing increasingly restless and nervous?

5. Are not multiplication of wants, habits of extravagance, and tendencies toward thoughtless "living off the future" inevitable in our growing cities?

6. Is there not a rapid increase in the lack of respect for law?

In succeeding chapters of this book we shall try to obtain for ourselves satisfactory answers to these and other important questions about the changing culture of the American people.

IN THE REMAINING CHAPTERS OF UNIT II WE SHALL STUDY THE GROUP LIFE OF OUR COMMUNITIES

The word pictures and illustrations presented have shown that there is no one typical community in America. They have also shown that the culture of our people is revealed in the life of the community.

Through the succeeding units of this book, therefore, we shall strive to understand how Americans live — that is, what they

want, why they work so hard, what they do with their leisure time, in what kinds of homes they live, what are their desires, their fears, and their ambitions.

Now to understand them we must study two sets of factors that make the American what he is: first, the groups of people among whom he lives; second, the impersonal, nonhuman things which affect him, such as the newspapers, magazines, and books that he reads, the "movies" that he sees, the radio programs to which he listens, the advertisements that attack his mind on every side. In this book we shall study carefully both these sets of factors.

In the chapters of Unit II we are studying the chief groups in which most Americans live. In this present one (Chapter II) we have studied the largest group of all — namely, the community.

In Chapter III, we shall study how the neighborhood groups in which we have our homes and spend some of our leisure time affect us.

In Chapter IV, special kinds of community and neighborhood groups will be studied, namely, those of foreign-born immigrants.

In Chapters V and VI, we shall see the American living in the most important group of all, namely, the family.

In Chapter VII we shall study the American in his many social organizations, that is, in lodges, service clubs, labor unions, patriotic societies, and neighborhood clubs.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

DOUGLASS, HARLAN PAUL. *The Little Town*. The Macmillan Company, New York.

An excellent study of the people and rural relationships of small towns.

DOUGLASS, HARLAN PAUL. *The Suburban Trend*. The Century Co., New York.

Traces the movement toward the suburbs in the larger American cities and describes the kinds of suburbs.

FERBER, EDNA. *Cimarron*. Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York. Story of the opening of Oklahoma; description of a frontier community.

GALE, ZONA. *Miss Lulu Bett*. D. Appleton and Company, New York. Life in a small Middle Western village.

GARLAND, HAMLIN. *A Son of the Middle Border*. The Macmillan Company, New York. An autobiography showing the transition of an American from the country to a little town, and from a town to a city.

HILL, HOWARD C. *Community Civics*. Ginn and Company, Boston. See Chapter V, "The Neighborhood and the Community."

- HILL, HOWARD C. Readings in Community Life. Ginn and Company, Boston. See Chapter V.
- HOTCHKISS, C. W. Representative Cities of the United States: a Geographical and Industrial Reader. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.
- HUNGERFORD, EDWARD. The Personality of American Cities. Robert M. McBride & Company, New York. Interesting and colorful descriptions of several American cities.
- LEWIS, SINCLAIR. Babbitt. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York. A novel describing life in the small Middle Western city.
- LEWIS, SINCLAIR. Main Street. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York. A novel of life in the small Middle Western town.
- LINDEMAN, EDUARD C. The Community: an Introduction to the Study of Community Leadership and Organization. Association Press, New York. A good general study of the community; what it is, the types of communities, and organization in a community.
- SOUTHWORTH, GERTRUDE V. D., and KRAMER, STEPHEN E. Great Cities of the United States. Iroquois Publishing Company, Inc., Syracuse, New York.
- "New York: a City of Puppets," *The Survey*, November 1, 1926, pp. 125-128. An interesting account of life in the city.
- "This Giant that is New York," *National Geographic Magazine*, November, 1930, pp. 517-583. Excellently illustrated account of the varied aspects of life in the huge metropolis.

CHAPTER III

AMERICA'S MILLION NEIGHBORHOODS

Two young women rushed up to each other with breathless exclamations. "Jane, dear, I haven't set eyes on you since we were children together!"

"Why, Nellie, how are you? Where do you live now?"

"Out near Summit Park. John got a promotion, and we bought a little house there. We have a yard and a bit of a lawn. It's a neighborly little place, and it's healthy and clean for the children. And you, Jane?"

"We haven't been able to move from the old neighborhood. It's changed so you'd scarcely know it. It's full of foreigners nowadays, and all our old friends have moved away. We scarcely know a soul in the neighborhood any more."

"Whatever happened to the Dutton family that lived up on the hill? Do you remember the party they gave when their daughter Gladys was sixteen? You and I were heartbroken because they didn't invite us. How we envied Gladys her clothes and her fine home — and how we tried to imitate her air!"

"Yes, she surely looked down on us; but then, *we* looked down on the Pulaskis. You remember them, don't you? They lived down near the river. We thought they were funny with their foreign accent and their foreign ways."

"Jane, do you know that it took me a long time to get over my prejudice against foreigners? The Pulaskis were the first foreigners in our old neighborhood, and everybody laughed at them."

"Well," said Jane, laughing, "I never have got over it."

A very commonplace episode, you may say — merely two women who were childhood friends meeting after a number of years and recalling earlier days. But in it lies a whole story of neighborhoods. Read it again to see how it reveals something

of neighborhood life. Does it not show differences among neighborhoods — differences in people, in houses, yards, lawns? It illustrates how neighborhoods are changed by newcomers — foreigners, for example — moving into them. More important still, it reminds us that many of our opinions and attitudes toward people are formed in the neighborhood in which we live.

The neighborhoods in which we live!

What an impression they make upon our lives, especially the ones in which we grew up. The writer recalls vividly the little neighborhood in which he spent his childhood in a small Eastern town. It is difficult to say just how much was included in the neighborhood. Certainly it took in all Wood Street, the short, unpaved street running between Snow and Day Streets and perhaps a bit of Waverly Street, Pearl Street, Snow Street, and the near-by eminence known as Wood's Hill. "Around the block," as the children used to say when they measured their foot races, marked out fairly well the entire neighborhood.

There were probably a score of families, 80 or 90 people altogether, mostly of old New England ancestry. A few newcomers from Ireland and Scandinavia were beginning to move into houses on Snow Street, and not many years passed before the foreigners occupied several houses in the neighborhood. But although they lived near by, the Anglo-Saxon mechanics and clerks who lived on Wood Street never regarded these foreigners as a part of their group.

Exactly at the end of Wood Street stood his father's house. From the little porch, he and the elder members of his family surveyed the life that went on in the neighborhood. In the warm and clear afternoons and evenings and on Sundays relatives and neighbors gathered on their porches or steep, scrubby lawns to rest from their work and gossip about the happenings of the day or the week. Beside the writer's home was the great "yard," where children of all ages from three to fifteen gathered on pleasant afternoons to play.

Of neighborliness in those days there was plenty. Indeed, there was much borrowing back and forth of salt, eggs, a darning

needle, or other necessary supplies. But the borrowing was seldom done without an exchange of news. "Jack White's run away to sea!" . . . "What do you think of that awful orange paint on the Snow house?" . . . "I saw the widow out again all dressed up fit to kill!" . . . News of Mrs. Johnson's new baby or what the Cumming's new maid said or how Leon Harris's broken leg was mending — these were but a few of the items of gossip which passed at the back doors or over driveways and fences.

People were interested in their neighborhood. Women tended sick neighbors and lightened their pains with the news of the day. In the afternoons, after the housework was done, the women called upon one another, and the latest news of the day was spread about from family to family. In the evening, neighbors "ran over" to chat. Many were the fine discussions of politics and the changing problems of the community and the nation. Young people listened to their elders and formed many lasting opinions.

Thus the neighborhood played an important part in the bringing up of children. Here prejudices, likes, and dislikes were created which, in some cases, lasted many years. Here attitudes were formed toward foreigners, toward poorer people or richer people, toward going to high school or to college, toward working or playing on Sundays, toward churches, labor unions, or the chamber of commerce — in fact, toward everything in life. Thus in that neighborhood and in many, many others throughout the United States life went on and the culture of the people developed.

The community, a little world of neighborhoods

Just as the United States is a nation of communities, so each community is a world of neighborhoods. To understand the nation, therefore, we must understand the life of the nation's neighborhoods, for these are the smaller groups of which the community is composed. There are perhaps 1,000,000 of these in the entire country, and they are vastly different from one another. In the rural communities, at one extreme there are neighborhoods of paper-covered shacks, each set in a small clearing where garden patches struggle for life. At the other extreme are neighborhoods

of comfortable farmhouses protected from sun and wind by great trees and surrounded by fertile fields. In the towns and cities are the crowded, insanitary neighborhoods of the poor and near by the spacious and luxurious dwellings of the rich. Between all these extremes a wide variety of neighborhoods presents itself.

Let us study a few examples. Of course we cannot present many in the limited space of one chapter, but we can present a few that are typical of the 1,000,000 or more neighborhoods that comprise the country.

As you read about these neighborhoods, ask yourself if the descriptions answer the following questions :

1. Are all communities divided into neighborhoods?
2. Are the neighborhoods of one community like those of another?
3. What kinds of people live in these neighborhoods?
4. What is it that divides the community into neighborhoods?

SOME WORD PICTURES OF NEIGHBORHOODS WITHIN AMERICAN COMMUNITIES

1. The neighborhoods of villages

A copper-smelting village in the Southwest. This Southwestern village lies at the bottom of a bowl of mountains along the winding banks of a small river. From the neighboring town twenty-five miles away, cars piled high with copper ore roll over the railroad tracks into the smelting town. Here the ore is washed clean of dirt. Then the copper is smelted out and sent East for manufacture. Six hundred people live in this community, all of them as dependent upon copper as the people of the hamlet described earlier depend upon farming.

Is this too a compact little community without neighborhoods? No, indeed. Three separate neighborhoods lie about the general store, the post office, the barber shop, the pool room, and the moving-picture "palace" with its corrugated-iron roof and sides. These neighborhoods seem as separated from one another as are the north pole, the equator, and the south pole.

On the north side of the community five or six comfortable shingle houses cluster together. Here the managers of the company live in what is regarded as the best neighborhood. East

of the general store and separated from the executives' neighborhood by the railroad tracks is "tent town," the second neighborhood. Two hundred or more khaki tents set close to one another spread up the slope of the mountain for a little distance. Here live the "white" laborers of the smelting plant. Beyond them the land slopes, and again the neighborhood changes. In the third neighborhood there are no shingled houses, no khaki tents, only one-room, "dobe" (that is, adobe, or mud) houses. Here live the unskilled Mexican laborers. All day long they

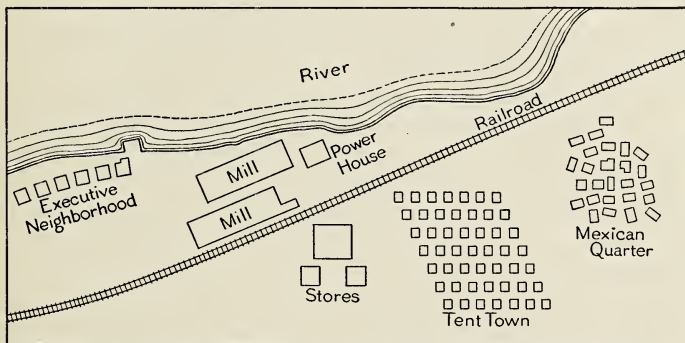


FIG. 22. The three neighborhoods shown in the map all belong to the same community, but the members of one neighborhood never visit those of the others

shovel the ore from the cars. All day long they lift, they carry, they do the menial work of the community. No visiting goes on among the people of these three neighborhoods. Each finds all its social life within itself.

So even in such small communities we find sharply defined neighborhoods.

The neighborhoods of a Middle West manufacturing village. How different still is Granton, located on the Lincoln Highway in the center of rolling, fertile farm land. The little village was started by a group of retired farmers and was intended by them to be a snug community in which they could live close to one another and have a richer social life than when they lived on their scattered farms. They chose a site 25 miles away from a small city, a day's journey by horse and buggy.

Today Granton is a town of 2000, an hour's journey by railroad or automobile to the city, which is now very large. Each morning commuters hurry to catch the "7:35" or the "8:34" into the city, where they work, and hurry back to their homes on the "5:16" or the "6:19." Two shoe-manufacturing plants were established before either the retired farmers or the commuting business men had time to protest, but now these residents are united in trying to keep more factories from locating in the town. About half of the population is employed in the shoe factories. The village boasts a bank, a hardware store, two drug stores, a garage, two grocery stores, two meat markets, a moving-picture house, and two churches.

Granton too is divided into neighborhoods. First, there is the retired-farmer neighborhood situated on the Lincoln Highway. Broad, spreading trees flank the walks of this neighborhood. Set well back from the thoroughfare are large comfortable houses where the retired farmers live. Most of these dwellings are of red brick or stucco, and ivy or wistaria clammers over their sides and up their roofs.

One block away from the northern side of the highway another neighborhood adjoins this one. Here too the houses are comfortable, but they vary more in size and in structure. Many of the commuters live here, those who take the "8:34" and "5:16" trains to and from the city. Here also the business and professional men of the town have their homes — the owner of the hardware store, the druggist, the garage-owner, the doctor, the banker, and the lawyer. This neighborhood is the home of the upper middle class.

On the southern side of the Lincoln Highway is the middle-class neighborhood of the village. Here live the commuters who take the "7:35" out in the morning and the "6:19" back at night. Policemen, firemen, clerks, and small shop-owners of the city live in this neighborhood as well as the town railroad station master and the plumbers, carpenters, and electricians. In this region are the skilled-labor and white-collar class of the factories. Here are the small home-owners, taking pride in their little one-family houses, tending their gardens and lawns. In the past few years a number of these homes have added little wooden or

galvanized iron garages to shelter automobiles bought with the savings of years.

Still farther south are the "back street" neighborhoods of the village, where the unskilled workers of the factories and railroad yards live. Here houses are cheaply built and badly cared for. Yards contain scraggly trees which struggle to live on.

The neighborhoods of a Southern college-and-manufacturing town of 7500. Now turn southward and picture Bethune, a larger community. In some ways it is like the villages we have just studied. But how different it is in other ways and, correspondingly, how different are the neighborhoods within it. The occupations of the town are varied; the people are divided into a large number of classes and live apart from one another in differing neighborhoods. Bethune has factories,—cigar and barrel factories,—distilleries, and flour mills. Not only is the town a center of manufacturing; it is also the center for a large farming region. Years ago a small college was established there and, as it grew, retired farmers moved into the town to educate their children.

As one would expect, there are more neighborhoods and greater differences among them than in the little villages we have studied. There are typical retired-farmer neighborhoods consisting of comfortable old houses set well back from the broad, tree-lined streets. There is a college neighborhood on the outskirts of the town, where faculty and students live in a little colony by themselves. The faculty homes are trim, one-family houses, surrounded by attractive lawns and hedges, comfortable but not magnificent. The quarters in which the students live, boarding houses for the most part, are old middle-class homes. The neighborhood has a quiet, dignified air, even if the lawns are not so well cared for as those in the retired-farmer neighborhood.

Around the factories are the workers' neighborhoods. Here live the people of small means, skilled laborers and store clerks of the town. Their houses are one-family and two-family tenements set close together on narrow, badly kept streets.

Beyond the factory district are the railroad tracks. On the farther side is the neighborhood from which the town draws most of its domestic and unskilled labor. In the tiny yards behind the shacks women wash the laundry for the upper-middle-class fami-

lies, in tubs of soapy water. Within their one-room or two-room shacks the ironing is done. Late in the afternoon the laundry is delivered, usually by one of the younger members of the family. Waitresses and chambermaids walk to the retired-farmer neighborhood early every morning and return from these comfortable homes every evening to their own dreary quarters.

One fact is clear: as these communities become larger, the number of neighborhoods increases. Persons of like occupations and like income tend to live close together. The well-to-do stay by themselves in the better, more spacious, and more attractive neighborhoods. The poorest people crowd together near the railroads and factories.

2. The neighborhoods of larger towns and cities

A New England manufacturing city of 20,000 people. Like ancient Rome, Woodstock is situated on seven hills. Winding through the hills in the valley is the White River, which supplies power for scores of paper, cotton, woolen, and silk mills, machine shops, carpet factories, railroad shops, and power plants. Woodstock was established by the English in the early days of our history. It now has many races and nationalities. Within 50 years it has been transformed from a small manufacturing city of old Anglo-Saxon ancestry to a medium-sized manufacturing city with more than half its people from Europe.

The river and the hills mark out the neighborhoods. On Overlook Hill are the broad estates of the rich owners of the yarn, cloth, and paper mills of the city. On the lower slopes of Overlook and on the smaller eminences of Mount Holly, Mount Vernon, Forest Hill, and Marble Summit are the homes of the upper middle class. Here live the professional people of the town, the owners of small machine shops, superintendents in the mills, owners of the department store — fairly well-to-do persons whose incomes vary from \$6000 to \$10,000 a year.

In the succession of little valleys between the hills are many other neighborhoods. There are scores of them altogether, each one consisting of a little area bounded by two or three irregular streets. Here, then, are Snow Street, West Street, Pine Street,



FIG. 23. This is one of the fine residential neighborhoods in Washington, D.C. Notice the wide, well-kept cement boulevard, the trees, the neat hedges, the large, well-built houses, and the automobile

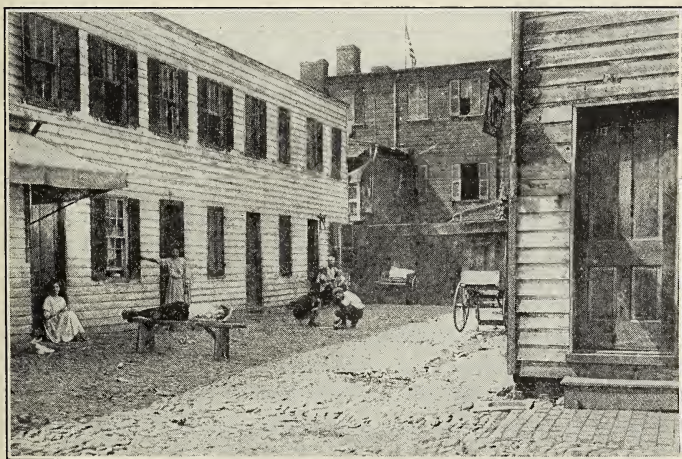


FIG. 24. This is another neighborhood in Washington, D.C. Notice the broken pavement in the alley, the lack of trees, the old tenements, and the carts

East Street, Summer Street, each forming a little neighborhood of about 100 persons, most of whom are mechanics, clerks — middle-class people with incomes of approximately \$2000 a year.

On the other side of the river and close to its banks is "the Patch," in which are clustered hundreds of houses where live immigrant laborers, ditch-diggers, and the semiskilled employees of the paper mills, the yarn mills, and the cloth mills. Their houses are mere boxlike, dingy shacks of three or four rooms, huddled close together. This is, indeed, a drab, grassless, treeless section.

Three miles from the center of the main business district of Woodstock is another almost separate community — West Woodstock. This section of the city has its own churches, business district, mills, shops, and — neighborhoods. Two miles from the center of the city in the other direction is East Woodstock with its car shops, paper mills, and another succession of neighborhoods among the hills and valleys.

This time you have seen a larger community with a more diverse population, more varied occupations and interests. Have you observed that as the community grows, the number of neighborhoods increases and the differences among them become greater?

An Eastern manufacturing city of 60,000. From the moment that the great dam was thrown across the river to supply the community with electric power, it became assured that manufacturing would largely determine the neighborhood life of Hopeville. The city lies in the heart of a lovely broad valley of fertile farming land in one of the great tobacco regions of the country. But it was water power which attracted capitalists to build paper mills, silk mills, woolen mills, thread mills, machine shops — all the varied industries which have grown up there.

As the town grew into a city, the neighborhoods increased in size and number. At the present time Park Avenue is the main business street and divides the city into social classes as sharply as a pair of scissors divides a piece of paper. Those who live east of Park Avenue have little or no social standing. Those who live west of it are the "old families" and the wealthy — the "pillars" of the community. They are clustered together in one section. Here runs a broad, tree-lined boulevard with large

houses set back 100 feet from the street and surrounded by wide lawns and attractive grounds.

Both east and west of Park Avenue, however, there is a vast succession of neighborhoods. In one section apartment houses have been built up. Behind the apartment-house neighborhoods are other neighborhoods — small houses with tiny porches, each surrounded by a narrow strip of turf which is dignified by the name of "lawn." In these two neighborhoods live the middle-class group, the teachers and other professional people, small shop-owners, foremen and superintendents in factories, shops, and mills.

On the other side of Park Avenue, neighborhood after neighborhood stretches back from the avenue. Here live the white-collar class — the clerks and stenographers, the skilled mechanics, and a host of others. Beyond to the river lie the immigrant neighborhoods of French Canadians, Irish, Slavs, and Italians, who, like the more well-to-do, live by themselves according to their own customs. Here is street after street of rickety wooden tenements, renting for \$10 to \$15 a month, with small dark rooms, poorly cared for, resembling those in the worst of our large city slums. More than a third of the population of this growing manufacturing city lives in these crowded tenement neighborhoods, regarding as friends only those who live within a few blocks of them.

3. The neighborhoods of the great city

The manufacturing-trading-port metropolis. Today a great metropolis rears itself proudly alongside one of the Great Lakes. It borders the lake for 30 miles and stretches 25 miles westward over what was prairie land only a quarter-century ago. A hundred years ago a frontier village of 600 people marked the site where one of the mighty cities of the world was to grow. At that time the land was barely level with the lake, and in the black oozy mud near the settlement wagons often sank below the hubs of their wheels. Sometimes the traveler would find a signboard which read "No bottom here," a silent testimony of some previous disaster.

From this unpromising beginning the great metropolis sprang.

In 1832 it was a lonely frontier trading post, a single, isolated neighborhood alone in the wilderness. Today the huge cosmopolitan city is a vast collection of communities: industrial, manufacturing, and hotel communities; amusement communities; wholesale and retail, financial and banking, communities;

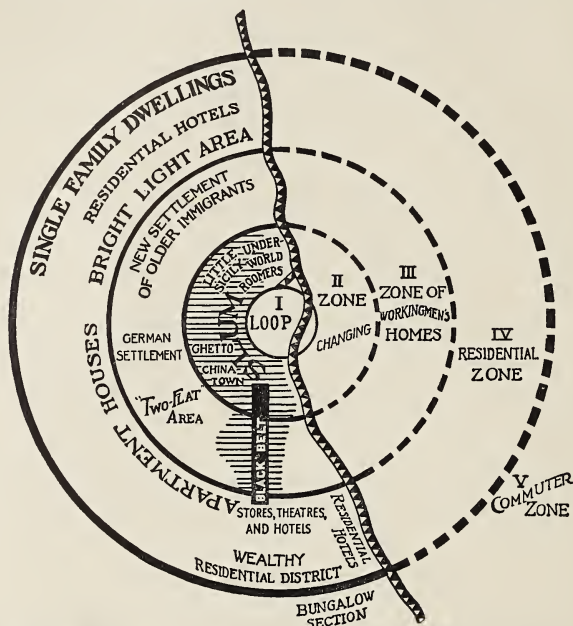


FIG. 25. In Zone I (the Loop) lies the great industrial and commercial center of the metropolis. Note that the farther we go from the Loop the better the residential sections become. (Adapted from Frederick Thrasher's *The Gang* (1927). By permission of the University of Chicago Press)

artist communities; immigrant communities; "old family" and "new rich" communities; college communities; middle-class communities; rooming-house communities; slum, criminal, and underworld communities — an overwhelming assortment of communities.

Smaller communities within the great community — that is the chief characteristic of a metropolis. And within these com-

munities there are hundreds, in fact, thousands of neighborhoods, which arrange themselves in "zones" around the business heart of the city.

The chart of figure 25 illustrates the zone arrangement of the great city. Within the business center are many neighborhoods — the neighborhoods of hotels, office skyscrapers, railroad terminals, and city-government buildings. Radiating from this center are manufacturing and wholesale and retail zones. More communities. More neighborhoods. Still farther from the center are little compact zones in which live working people, most of whom are foreign-born. Foreign neighborhoods began to dot the growing town nearly 75 years ago. Time has produced many changes in the foreign neighborhoods, but one characteristic remains much the same: each of the principal nationalities and races has its separate self-sufficient community within which most of its members live their lives.

Note, for example, the black splotch in the chart, which runs directly south of the Loop. This is the Black Belt. Tens of thousands of people live in this belt, almost all of whom are Negroes. West of the Loop is the vast slum district, including Little Sicily, the Italian Ghetto, and Chinatown. In each of these foreign zones the people have certain ways of living that are peculiar to them.

Just as there are in many other large cities districts where wretched living conditions prevail, where steel workers, textile workers, and dock laborers live crowded together, so in Chicago we have the district known as the Union Stockyards.

As one writer describes this community, it is

a sunken city of blood. Black buildings loom over narrow, muddy paths where the sun cannot dry the slime. Fantastic chutes and passageways twist against the sky, leading into the shadow of muffled houses. . . . Beyond, the pens of cattle. Miles of them also . . . cut through by steel rails and snorting locomotives. And on the other side, the pens of the men and women who slay the cattle and who, in turn, are consumed.

Less regular, these pens of men. Streets? Scarcely. Rather alleys that limp through puddles and broken gutters to other alleys — or into refuse piles — or into walls. Low, sodden houses of wood. Windows

tight shut in summer, in order to keep out the thickest of the stench. Acid-eaten, soot-stained houses, soaked with all the floating excrement of the meat-mills. In them at night, Slav and Magyar and Croat who dreamed of a Promised Land. And at day, children playing in the filth of the streets, waiting to grow up, waiting to join their parents.

On the one side, trains pour in the cattle and the hogs. On the other, trains pour in the men and the women. Cattle and hogs from the West. Women and men from the East. Between, stockaded off by the dripping walls, the slaughter-houses stand mysterious.¹

Of course the chart of figure 25 is not a complete map of the great city. It only indicates the fact that, as the metropolis expanded, it seems to have formed a succession of communities radiating out from the center. Some are largely occupational, such as the market, the dock, or the steel-manufacturing area. Some are largely residential. As in the villages and towns of our country, few of the sections of the metropolis are either *entirely* industrial or *entirely* residential. Frequently they are mixtures. Each has its own "Main Street" and its own region of differing neighborhoods. These vary in neighborliness from the intimate, small-town kind of life to the indifference of life in huge apartment houses.

Neither the occupations nor the neighborhoods in which people live in the metropolis could even be sketched in a few pages. That would require the space of a whole book. The important thing to remember is that the great cities of our country are made up of a vast number of self-sufficient little communities. These communities, in turn, are made up of thousands of neighborhoods.

HOW THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IS CHANGING THE NEIGHBORHOODS OF THE NATION

Let us glance backward to see how the communities of the United States are changing. In 1890, to go back only 40 years, they were neighborly places. People knew their neighbors intimately, saw them every day, talked to them while working about their yards, lawns, and hedges, visited with them in their houses,

¹ Waldo Frank, *Our America*, pp. 120-121. Horace Liveright, New York, 1919.

called on them at various times. There were no automobiles in the world, no radios, no "movies." Telephones had been invented fourteen years before, but only a few homes in America had them. There were few daily newspapers in the towns and none in the villages. In these smaller communities possibly a weekly newspaper or a farm or trade journal was occasionally read.



FIG. 26. Every day the movies attract many people away from their neighborhoods

Communication was almost all by word of mouth. So people talked with their neighbors and depended upon them and themselves for their recreation.

Then came the auto, the telephone, the "movies,"
and the radio¹

As the Industrial Revolution speeded up after 1890 it brought many changes in the life of the neighborhood. By 1930 automobiles were taking American families far away from their homes and neighborhoods out on macadamized highways in the late afternoons, evenings, and Sundays. Families marched off to darkened "movie" houses to watch the latest thriller instead of

¹ See *An Introduction to American Civilization* and *A History of American Government and Culture* for the story of the development of the automobile, telephone, radio, "movies," etc. Their influence on national culture will be taken up in Chapter XX.

conversing in intimate neighborhood groups with those who lived next door. Millions of radios began to keep people indoors at various hours of the day in summer as well as winter. Today people listen, they do not talk. For friendly neighborhood conversation the telephone has taken the place of the back fence, the porch, the lawn. Even visits to the sick have almost entirely



FIG. 27. This is the house in which John D. Rockefeller was born. Do you think he lived in it long? Family fortunes change with such rapidity that people seldom spend all their lives in one house or one neighborhood

disappeared. Patients in hospitals and sick people in neighborhoods complain that inquiries as to their health are made over "long distance."

The Industrial Revolution is responsible for other changes in neighborhood life. As cities have grown, men have found work farther from the neighborhoods in which they live. Increasingly, the home has become a place in which they eat two meals a day and sleep. They see less of their neighbors and are less interested in their neighbors' lives. Women too have entered industry and have less time for calling and chatting. In 1890 many families spent their whole lives within the same region. Nowadays, as jobs are changed with increasing frequency, families move from neighborhood to neighborhood.

The districts themselves have been altered, too, during these

years. Where rows and rows of neat houses once stood, factories and stores have crept in. Old neighborhood families have moved out, and new families have come in. Perhaps these new families are of different national, racial, or religious backgrounds from the older families of the neighborhood and have little in common with them. Today neighborhoods are changing so quickly and peoples' fortunes are changing with such rapidity that it is customary for them to live in a neighborhood but a few years. This is particularly true of those who live in rented dwellings.

By all these means the neighborhood spirit is breaking down in communities all over the country. One hears such things as these :

I've lived here three years and no one has come to call.

People move into the neighborhood and out again so fast, it isn't worth trying to know them.

There's no place but the street for the children to play, so I take them downtown in the afternoon while I do my shopping. The children get the air, and I see my neighbors and chat with them while I buy a pound of butter or a few chops.

You hardly dare call on your neighbors these days. They're reading the latest magazine or listening to the radio and don't want to be disturbed, or else they are hurrying away to the newest "movies" or going for an automobile ride.

I save a lot of time by doing almost all my visiting on the telephone.

NEW FACTORS WHICH HELP TO HOLD NEIGHBORHOODS TOGETHER

Not all the factors tend to bring about the breakdown of the neighborhood spirit, however. Some of them tend to hold it together. For example, there are neighborhoods in which almost all the people are Italians. There are others in which almost all the people are Negroes, Germans, Chinese, or members of any one of the 50 races and nations which are found in the United States. These people live together in intimate little neighborhoods almost completely isolated from other neighborhoods. They have their own stores, their own banks, their own newspapers. Their ways of living are much alike, and a common language is spoken by them. Thus a common racial or national background is one factor which holds neighborhoods together.

As you have already learned in this chapter, people who have similar incomes tend to live together. They live in neighborhoods where they can find houses or apartments within their means. In these neighborhoods they can buy goods which they can afford. Thus common standards of living tend to hold these people together.

There are other factors too, such as nearness to work, nearness to the churches and to schools, which also help to hold neighborhoods together. Liking for the people who live in a neighborhood, friendships within it, may hold it together. But all these factors which tend to bind neighborhoods together are not so strong as those which tend to break them down. The old neighborhood life is fast disappearing.

ATTEMPTS TO REESTABLISH THE INTIMACY OF NEIGHBORHOOD LIFE

As cities grew and the neighborhood spirit began to disappear, a few leaders set up plans to restore it. Public centers such as libraries, churches, schools, and even general stores were used to stimulate the neighborliness which was once an important factor in American life. In the cities and large towns, especially, the greatest need was felt for rebuilding the neighborhood spirit.

1. The work of the social settlements

One of the first movements was the establishment of social settlements. The story of such settlements starts in England in the latter 1800's. Many leaders had recognized vaguely that "something was wrong with society." They saw, for example, the great industrial cities of England, in which tremendous wealth and dreadful poverty existed side by side. In the slums they saw underfed children forced into factories as soon as they were old enough to do the simplest kind of work. They saw parents seeking to forget in drink the dreary round of life's tasks and the hopelessness of bettering their condition.

These leaders who started the settlement movement began to live among the unhappy people of the cities. They visited the poor, held classes, formed clubs, and lectured (usually on reli-

gious subjects) to the people of these poor neighborhoods. In many cases their home became the "neighborhood house."

The movement then spread across the sea and reached the United States. By 1910 two hundred settlement houses had been established in various cities of the United States and England. At first the people looked to these leaders for help only when they were in distress. As the movement grew the work was expanded. Separate buildings were constructed which became centers of education and recreation. Here the whole neighborhood was welcomed — both sexes and all ages.

During the past two decades the work of the social settlements has grown steadily. Today they are good influences in the life of the poorer neighborhoods, although, as one writer has put it, "the day of the settlement has only begun — it is hardly beyond the cockcrow." Through them important improvements have come in "housing, recreation, health, industrial conditions." Through them a more intelligent handling of the poorer people in the civil courts of the country has been brought about. Most important of all, however, has been the influence of the social settlements in rebuilding neighborhood spirit. Through them once again people have learned to know their neighbors.



FIG. 28. Hull-House in Chicago, founded by Jane Addams in 1889. It is one of the oldest social settlements in the United States

2. The work of community centers

Community centers — or recreational centers or social centers, as they are sometimes called — are other agencies which have grown up to rebuild community life. These centers are largely neighborhood affairs and are conducted in a variety of ways.

One of the earliest and most important of these is the one which grew up in the South Side district of Chicago about 30 years ago. In that region 750,000 people were crowded together with little or no opportunity for healthful recreation. In 1903 the South Park Commission began to develop ten neighborhood recreation centers near the parks of the district. Within



Fig. 29. Besides providing education and recreation many of these centers also employ a staff of nurses who take care of those in the neighborhood who are ill

two years these centers were opened to the people of the neighborhoods. Today each center has a beautiful building (a "field house," it is called) with a stage, club rooms, an assembly room, gymnasiums for men and for women, locker rooms, shower baths, and a branch of the public library.

During the warmer months most of the activities, such as theatricals, baseball and basket-ball games, are conducted out of doors. Some of the centers even have outdoor swimming pools. Neighborhood choruses are organized, and readings and folk dances are given by "local talent"; that is, by the people of the neighborhoods. In the field houses the people come together for

dances, parties, dinners, and club meetings. They assemble to discuss matters of civic or social importance. Five new field houses have been added to the original ten on Chicago's South Side and others have been built in various sections of the city.

The movement has spread to other cities. Los Angeles, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Boston, and New York have built neighborhood centers similar to those in Chicago. In 1924 there were 1763 of them in 193 cities of the United States, each specially designed for the recreation of neighborhoods. Although every city has not been so successful in establishing centers of recreation as Chicago, there is a much longer list of successes than of failures.

In general, the attempts to develop neighborhood spirit and provide healthful means of spending leisure time together are producing important results for our changing American life.

One of the most valuable outcomes of the work of community centers is the development of leadership through self-government. Good leadership can bind the people of a neighborhood together to improve their working and living conditions and their opportunities for recreation. Indeed, perhaps the development of leadership is the most important outcome to be sought in the work of these neighborhood centers.

The following story illustrates what intelligent leadership can do for our changing American communities. It also sums up the story of the growth and decline of many old communities.

**The story of Van Hornesville: an example of how a
leader revived the neighborhood spirit in a dying
community**

Recall from your study of American history the story of how the Dutch settled along the fertile valleys of the Mohawk and the other rivers of New York State.

During the 1700's one little band of Dutch farmers climbed the hillsides of the Mohawk valley and settled above a rapidly running creek. There they formed two hilltop settlements — Squawk and Pumpkin Neck. For 50 years these two little communities lived there quietly, farming their land. Then the Industrial Revolution invaded them as it was invading hundreds

of other communities. Abraham Van Horne with a company of merchants and millers moved into the neighborhood. Did these newcomers move to the hillside, too? No, indeed. They settled beside the stream, where there was power to turn the wheels of their gristmills. Other industries soon joined the new community — first, a plow-and-axle factory, then a foundry and a distillery, and finally, in 1840, a cotton mill. The community was growing because of water power, a rich hinterland, and easy access to near-by markets—the same factors about which we spoke in *An Introduction to American Civilization*. Inns were needed for visiting merchants; so inns were built. New roads were needed to transport the people and the merchandise of the community to and from other near-by settlements. So a plank road, 27 miles in length, was laid down. All these improvements and the opportunity for work drew other people to the neighborhood. Soon Van Hornesville, as the new community was called, became a flourishing town.

But just as the Industrial Revolution was responsible for bringing a flourishing community into being, it was responsible also for its decline. The railroad began to stretch out across the state, but it ignored the town of Van Hornesville and wound its way to other communities where it was easier to build. Electric power too began to develop in various centers of upper New York State, but the transmission lines followed the line of the railroads. Other small near-by communities soon outstripped Van Hornesville in size and in number of industries. As that happened the manufacturers of Van Hornesville began to move away to communities where there was electric power and from which railroads would carry their products to distant markets rapidly and safely. The workers followed the industries. Soon the stores of the town closed for lack of customers, and the plank road rotted away, since so few people used it that it was scarcely worth while to repair it.

Mr. Owen D. Young, chairman of the General Electric Company of Schenectady and the man for whom the German reparations plan was named, was born in this little town. Let him tell in his own words what he saw happening in Van Hornesville: "I looked at the town with sorrow, and saw it going. The

houses were falling to pieces; the mill dam was growing up in cat-tails; the village green was a mass of weeds."

The neighborhood had broken down. Even the little red schoolhouse had burned down. Van Hornesville was dying. A new leader was needed, a leader who understood the community, its needs and its desires — a leader who would restore it to life. Mr. Young is such a leader.

Mr. Young's first act was to build a new school. He enlisted the services of the people of Van Hornesville. They drew up plans for a new consolidated school. As their labor and skill went into it, the community spirit began to revive, "everyone, down to the humblest laborer, feeling that he was taking part." Today next to the school there is a swimming pool and near by a Teachers' House.

Mr. Young has faith in the new neighborhood spirit of Van Hornesville. He says:

Any man who has money can give a school and endow it. . . If the school is not on a self-supporting basis in, let us say, about three years, I shall feel that I have failed in what I set out to do. . . . I want to show how . . . the country community itself can carry on successfully by spending its funds to better advantage.

Mr. Young hopes to make the school the center of community life. Here, perhaps, will be *a real school-centered community*.

But the school is only one evidence of what has happened to Van Hornesville under intelligent leadership. Today

mill wheels with improved machinery once more are turning, profitably; a dairy is bottling purer and richer milk and sending it to town over concrete roads; the carpenter's saw, electrically driven, cuts through the native pine; the blacksmith's successor runs a thriving garage.

Van Hornesville lives again and neighborhood spirit under intelligent leadership has revived it.¹

¹ This story has been written from facts given in "'The Young Plan' saves a Town," by Mary Day Winn, an article in the *New York Herald Tribune* for November 23, 1930. The quotations are from the article.

WHAT, THEN, HAVE WE LEARNED IN OUR BRIEF STUDY
OF THE NEIGHBORHOODS OF AMERICA?

First, and perhaps most important: Practically all the nation's communities — small or large — are aggregations of little neighborhoods. It is in these neighborhoods that the life of the country really goes on. They are small, covering an area of one or, at the most, a few streets, and comprising on the average perhaps 100 people. Thus it is probably no exaggeration to speak of "America's 1,000,000 neighborhoods."

Second, we learned that many factors divide the communities into neighborhoods. Chief among them are differences in wealth and income, differences in nationality and race, in the "lay of the land," in the location of rivers or hills, factories, or railroads.

Third, although we did not study the problem completely, our examples suggested that it is within the neighborhoods of communities that people form many of their opinions and attitudes toward other persons, races, and groups in the community. This is such an important problem that we shall consider it frequently in the remaining chapters of this book.

Fourth, one of the most important discoveries that we made was that the Industrial Revolution, having produced the automobile, telephone, "movies," and radio, and having brought about the growth of towns and cities, has also rapidly broken down the intimate life of neighborhoods. Both in the cities and in the rural districts and villages the intimate community spirit is tending to disappear.

Fifth, we studied important examples of attempts to reestablish the intimacy of neighborhood life. Chief among the factors tending to hold the neighborhood together is the inspiring leadership of persons in social settlements and community centers.

In subsequent chapters of this book we shall study again and again the part which neighborhood influences play in the forming of American culture.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET
ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

- ANDERSON, NELS, and LINDEMAN, EDUARD C. *Urban Sociology*. F. S. Crofts & Co., New York. Chapters III and IV discuss the neighborhoods and districts of a great city.
- DREISER, THEODORE. *The Color of a Great City*. Horace Liveright, New York. Interesting descriptions of city life and neighborhoods.
- HILL, HOWARD C. *Community Civics*. Ginn and Company, Boston. See Chapter V, "The Neighborhood and the Community."
- HILL, HOWARD C. *Readings in Community Life*. Ginn and Company, Boston. Part V.
- HOTCHKISS, C. W. *Representative Cities of the United States: a Geographical and Industrial Reader*. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.
- LYND, ROBERT S. and HELEN M. *Middletown*. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York. In Chapter XIX, "The Organization of Leisure," the neighborhood is discussed.
- SOUTHWORTH, GERTRUDE V. D., and KRAMER, STEPHEN E., *Great Cities of the United States*. Iroquois Publishing Company, Inc., Syracuse, New York.
- THRASHER, FREDERIC M. *The Gang*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago. Chapters I and II describe the districts inhabited by the gangs of Chicago, in the slums and bordering the slums.
- ZORBAUGH, HARVEY WARREN. *The Gold Coast and the Slum*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago. Vivid pictures of Chicago's wealthy neighborhoods, slum districts, rooming-house areas, and "Bohemia."
- "The New Neighbors," *The Survey*, December 1, 1927, pp. 304-308. The change that has taken place in neighborhoods.

CHAPTER IV

THE IMMIGRANT IN COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD LIFE

America a nation of immigrants: a backward glance

A man who has traveled far and wide over our country has said recently, "The whole map of Europe could be reproduced over and over and over again in this country." He meant that wherever one goes, one sees foreigners, hears foreign languages spoken, sees foreign-language newspapers, foreign foods, foreign churches, foreign customs.

Every region in the country, every aspect of life, is affected by them. In our larger cities there are sections in which one rarely hears English spoken. In the rural districts of the country there are communities inhabited almost altogether by the foreign-born. For example, the merchants of one small Michigan town are principally French and Belgians; yet they have to learn Dutch in order to do business with many of their neighbors. In another community Polish business men have to carry on business in German. In San Francisco Italians learn the laws and customs of the United States in Italian and read American literature in that language, too. The map of Europe could, indeed, be reproduced in the United States.

Clearly, therefore, to understand American culture, it is necessary for us to understand immigrant communities and neighborhoods.

As you have already learned, our entire history has been one of immigration.¹ Within the past three centuries people have settled here from the six continents of the earth. Recall quickly the dramatic story of immigration: First, how the English, Scotch, and Irish came in the 1600's and the 1700's. Until after

¹ Review, if necessary, Chapters V and XX of *An Introduction to American Civilization* (Ginn and Company, Boston, 1929).

1790 nine tenths of all our immigrants were British. It was chiefly the descendants of these people who cleared the great continent and played a part in building up our country. Large numbers of Negroes had also been brought in from Africa as slaves. In 1808, however, importation of them was prohibited by law.

Then, after the year 1840, three great waves of immigration rolled in upon our shores — the Germans and Irish in the 1840's and 1850's and the Scandinavians after 1870. Some thousands of Chinese and Japanese also had made their way from the far Orient to our western coast, and little groups of them traveled eastward and formed the Chinatowns of Chicago, New York, and other big Eastern cities. But even at the end of the nineteenth century the preponderance of inhabitants in the United States were either de-



FIG. 30. In New York's Ghetto only the children are American-born

scendants of northwestern Europeans, or had been born in northwestern Europe — in Ireland, Germany, Norway, Denmark, or Sweden.

Then, between 1890 and 1900, the "old" immigration of northwestern Europe gave way to the "new," that of millions of Italians, Slavs, and Jews from eastern, central, and southern Europe. From the agricultural countries of Europe principally they came, from Russia, Poland, Austria, Hungary, Italy, and the Balkan countries. Until 1914 almost 1,000,000 a year arrived.

Then, as you probably remember from your study of American history, immigration almost ceased during the World War, and

TABLE V

| OUR IMMIGRANT POPULATION AND THE AMERICAN-BORN CHILDREN OF IMMIGRANTS, 1920 | |
|---|------------|
| Foreign-born | 13,712,800 |
| Number naturalized | 6,493,100 |
| Children of foreign-born | 12,686,200 |

since that time new laws have been made restricting the number of immigrants who may enter our country to a very small number each year.

Today there are probably 14,000,000 foreign-born in the United States, since, as the accompanying table shows, there were more than 13,000,000 in 1920, and more than 12,500,000 of their children call themselves Americans.

Where did the immigrants settle in the United States?

Homes and work had to be found by all the newly arrived immigrants. Where did these millions and millions of foreign-born find shelter and work in the country they now called their own? Did they hurry to the westward-moving frontier to settle on the free lands there? Did they make their new homes on the old farm lands of New England or of Virginia and the Carolinas? Did they scatter among the little villages and hamlets, settling down to engage in agriculture as they had done in their Old World homes? Let us see.

OPPORTUNITIES TO EARN A LIVING DETERMINED WHERE THE IMMIGRANT SETTLED

Most of the immigrants to the United States entered by the port of New York. There they were received at the immigrant station on Ellis Island.

1. Some had friends who helped them to get established

For some the problem of finding a home and work was comparatively easy. They had friends and relatives already settled in the United States and at work. Out of good nature and friendship these friends or relatives sheltered and helped the new-

comer until he got a job and a roof over his head. Here, for example, is the story of the way one newly arrived Russian and his friend were welcomed by a family from his old home town :

I attached myself to a young Russian Jew of about my own age, who had no relatives waiting for him, but who had the address of his parents' friends. They had come here a few years before.



FIG. 31. Newly arrived immigrants on Ellis Island. Some of them have friends in America who will help them. Others have not

We come into the kitchen, where the family of nine is just at dinner ; two of the number, a husband and wife, are regular boarders. I doubt whether anywhere else, under similar circumstances, we would have received so genuinely hearty a welcome, in spite of the fact that we were practically strangers to them, and that I had no claim whatever upon their hospitality.

The father is a cloak presser. He is a small man of very gentle mien, who knows not much beyond the fact that tomorrow the whistle will blow, and that he will be on the fifteenth floor of a great cloak factory, "doing his allotted task" (God willing). Our hostess . . . works also ; she is a skillful operator, and from 8 A.M. until 6 P.M. she hears nothing but the whirr of the machine. The oldest daughter is called Blanche, although she was named Rebecca ; she has worked for several

years, although she is not past sixteen. She embroiders in a fashionable dressmaking establishment on Broadway, and likes her place; she sees fine ladies and handles fine stuffs. . . . She reads good books, — fiction, biography, history — everything. Other children are growing up and going to work soon; so the family is on the up grade. It was pathetic in the extreme to see this family crowd together to make room for us for the night. My friend slept on a sofa, the ribs of which protruded like those of Pharaoh's lean kine, and I slept soundly on the smoother surface of the floor.

The next day brought to us the momentous task of going out to find work, and before the whistle blew for the night's rest, my friend was part of a sewing machine, while I, being stronger, was assigned to pressing cloaks.¹

2. Some were friendless in a strange land and fell into
the hands of those who preyed upon their ignorance

Opportunities were not so favorable for other immigrants, however. They had no one to help them establish themselves, and it was almost certain that before they had found a place to live and work, before they had learned a little English, they would become the victims of those who take advantage of the ignorance of strangers. From the moment they left Ellis Island behind, the great unknown world offered all kinds of difficulties. Consider, for example, what happened to one Italian immigrant on arriving in New York on his way to Milwaukee:

On the dock he was taken into the toils of a hackman, whose charge was \$3 for driving him to the Liberty Street Ferry. Two other immigrants were taken in the hack and all were charged the same price, making \$9 for the trip. At the ferry an expressman explained to the Italian immigrant that he should return to Ellis Island to exchange his order on the steamship company for a railroad ticket. The expressman took him in his wagon from Liberty Street to the Battery, a short drive, and charged him \$3. Whereupon he was misdirected by a policeman and sent to the Grand Central Station. From this point he was taken to the Battery a second time by a colored porter, who charged him \$1 for his services and 15 cents carfare. Here an investigator found him, too

¹ Adapted from Edward A. Steiner's *On the Trail of the Immigrant* (Fleming H. Revell Company, New York, 1906), pp. 155-160.

late in the afternoon to go to Ellis Island to exchange his order, and he was obliged to remain over night in New York, the whole transaction having cost him over \$8. The case of this poor Italian illustrates the operation of exploiters preying upon immigrants at the ports of entry, at docks and railroad terminals.¹

Here is the story of the experiences of another group of immigrants, who tried to find work through a labor agency :

Several Russians who were looking for work were picked up on the street in New York and piloted to an employment office by a runner. For this service he charged the immigrants \$1.50 apiece. At the office arrangement was made for them to work in the woods as sawyers, and transportation and office fees were to be advanced. They were given an address in Kineo, Me., taken to the depot and sent to *Calumet, Mich.*, where they were expected to work in the copper mines. When they got away and were picked up by the Immigrants' Protective League in Chicago, after they had worked their way down from Calumet, they had still the card of the agent, calling for work as sawyers at Kineo, Me.

They were unable to explain what had happened to them, had no idea where Maine was, or why they were taken to Michigan. They knew they had been deceived, and that they had been compelled to leave their little bundle of clothes in order to effect their escape.²

Too often these were the experiences of the newly arrived immigrants with the labor agencies.

3. Some who arrived were helped by immigrant organizations

The experiences of other newly arrived immigrants were different from those about whom you have just read. They were fortunate in finding help through immigrant organizations.

Immigrant organizations were established during the 1800's. Their special purpose was to care for friendless arrivals until they had found jobs in their new country. Representatives of some of these organizations met immigrants at the docks. When the

¹ Adapted from William P. Shriver's *Immigrant Forces* (The Missionary Education Movement, New York, 1913), pp. 131-132.

² Adapted from the Massachusetts Report of the Commission on Immigration, pp. 43-44.

newcomers were friendless and did not know where to go, they were taken by the members of these societies to Immigrant Homes, where they were permitted to remain until jobs and other homes had been found for them.

The immigrant organizations also helped in other ways. Sometimes immigrants had lost the addresses of relatives whom they were to join. Then they were cared for by these societies until their relatives could be located for them. Many newly arrived foreigners needed advice and information to help them get established in their new country. This kind of help was also given by the immigrant societies.

Some of these organizations, however, although pretending to be run for the sake of the immigrants, proved to be money-making ventures. They charged the immigrants too much for their lodging and board, and the newcomers, having no idea what the prices should be or where to get accommodations more cheaply, were at the mercy of those who pretended to be their friends. Even today the immigrant is fortunate, indeed, who has friends or relatives already established in this country who will meet him when he arrives and help him over the first hard steps of getting acquainted with his new country.

IMMIGRANTS TENDED TO CLIQUE TOGETHER IN OUR LARGER CITIES

Those examples show us that the necessity of finding work quickly and the presence of friends and relatives there forced many of the newcomers to settle in our larger towns and cities. Naturally each one sought out his own countrymen, with whom he could speak his native language, hear news of old friends, and continue his old customs. Newly arrived Italians went immediately to Little Italy, Greeks went to New Greece, Syrians sought the Syrian quarter, Poles joined the Poles, and Chinese swelled the Chinatowns of our cities. Each race, each nationality, tended to clique by itself.

Today in our great cities there are communities of people from the four quarters of the globe. They try to live in America much as they did in their native homes

1. *A picture of a Syrian community in New York City*

If you should visit that part of New York in which the Syrians live you might rub your eyes and wonder if you were dreaming, for here is a bit of the Near East, of Damascus, set down in the New World:

Both sides of the street are lined with stores in the windows of which are displayed all kinds of Oriental wares: long amber-piped narghiles, the smoking paraphernalia of the Orientals; heavy, bulging, mandolin-like musical instruments; and, in transparent jars, roots and dried fruits of all kinds that grow one knows not where and are put to one knows not what use.

Every second store is a coffee-house or a restaurant, duplicates of such as are in existence in the Orient, somewhere around Constantinople or Smyrna, Saloniki, or Damascus itself. And in those dimly lighted coffee-houses, around rough pine tables, sit swarthy men drawing the cool smoke from the aromatic *titun* that burns slowly in the brass container over the large jar filled with rose-scented water, through which the smoke passes before it is drawn by the smoker. Small coffee-shells into which the mud-thick coffee is being continually poured are being served all around by the large, majestic, dark-brown owner of the "Khava," whose bare feet are incased in pointed, heelless slippers (*babbiuches*), dragged *flippity, flippity-flop* as he walks around.

How people do transform the quarter they live in to suit their national temperament and habits!¹

2. *A typical mixture of European colonies in Smoke
Crest valley in the Lake Erie region*

The next description is of another immigrant colony in an industrial city. This colony is made up mostly of Slavs and Italians.

The railroad yard divides the city. On either side the tracks are flanked by communities of Poles, to the west four thousand, to the east twenty-five hundred more. Each Polish community has its Polish Catholic church. West of the tracks, also, are the American community

¹Konrad Bercovici, "The World in New York," Part II. Copyrighted by The Century Co.

and business quarter, a school, a bank, a park, and the single English-speaking Protestant church in the heart of the city. Adjoining the Polish section east of the tracks and near the works is an Italian colony intermingled with Negroes. Abutting on the other side is the boarding-house district filled with Magyars, Slovaks, Croatians, and Russians. The unpaved streets run down from the main thoroughfare to the low



FIG. 32. A street in San Francisco's Chinatown. What do you see in the picture that looks "foreign"? What looks "American"?

swamp land, with long rows of one and two story houses on either side. Flocks of geese wander in and out from the yards and stables and cackle through the puddles of stagnant water. Tuberculosis runs free-footed through the congested boarding-houses. As the night falls and the wind grows biting cold, the feeble lights of the drinking-places glimmer a welcome to the begrimed laborers returning from their shift. All is tawdry, dejecting desolation.¹

3. *A bit of China which has grown up in America*

There are Chinatowns in New York, in Chicago, and in smaller

American communities, but the great Chinatown of the United States is found in San Francisco. A closed little community it is, too, with scarcely any people residing there but the picturesque, slant-eyed Chinese. Other faces, European and American, are sometimes seen on the streets, but they are usually those of the curious outsider who strolls through the quarter gazing into the shop windows, tasting strange dishes in the res-

¹ Adapted from William P. Shriver's *Immigrant Forces* (The Missionary Education Movement, New York, 1913), pp. 75-76.

taurants, or staring at the combinations of Eastern and Western dress which pass him. Here hobbles an old woman in a wig, wearing both the black-cotton trousers of China and the high-heeled shoes of America. There goes a "flapper" who has discarded trousers in favor of the American skirt.

Today San Francisco's Chinatown is clean and new and clever. Architects have brought more of the Chinese spirit into its buildings than the old ever had. It does not lack color — by day, the treasures of its shops, the queer folk who walk its streets, even the bright red placards upon the door-lintels; by night, the close slow-moving throngs through Grant Avenue — its chief thoroughfare — the swinging lanterns above their heads, the radiance that comes out from brilliantly lighted and mysterious rooms along the way — the new Chinatown of San Francisco.

At the edge of Chinatown slopes Portsmouth Square. To Portsmouth Square come the representatives of all the little colonies of babbling foreigners, the men who sail the seven seas — the flotsam and the jetsam not alone of the Orient, but of the whole wide world as well. There is a little man who sits on one side of the square and who for a very small sum will execute cubist art upon your cuticle. Among tattooers he acknowledges but two superiors — a one-legged veteran who plies his trade near the wharves of the Mersey River in England and a Hindu artist at Calcutta. The little shops that line Portsmouth Square are the little shops of many peoples. Over their counters you can buy many things practical, and many, many more of the most impractical things in all the world.¹

4. *A colony of Italians and foreign-born Jews in an American community*

In some of our foreign communities two or three nationalities may be found living close together. The following description gives us a glimpse of one such community :

Russian Jews and Italians are the chief inhabitants of this district, although one comes across a stranded American family here and there.

Walk through the streets with me and you will readily forget that you are in America. Here Pietro, the shoemaker, on his three-legged stool, mends boots out on the streets; while Lorenzo shaves his customer upon the pavements in front of his shop. Gossiping groups of swarthy

¹ Adapted from Edward Hungerford's *The Personality of American Cities* (Robert M. McBride & Company, New York, 1913), pp. 296-297.

neighbors sit together upon the threshold of their homes, and Bianca, Lorenzo's wife, is complaining in a loud voice that Pietro, the shoemaker, has called her a hussy. "And he, a lowdown Sicilian, a good-for-nothing, has called me, the barber's wife, a hussy." She is rousing the anger of her neighbors, and woe to Pietro, for Lorenzo's wife has a temper.¹

Pushcarts, the little movable stores of foreign communities, line the gutters. One finds oranges and apples on one cart owned



FIG. 33. In the foreign neighborhoods of our large cities you will often see two or more pushcarts to every store

by an Italian. Beside it is another, owned by a Russian Jew, on which are displayed babies' dresses and underclothes. Perhaps a third will display needles, buttons, key rings, and watch charms. A lively business goes on side by side in two foreign languages and in broken English.

The examples which you have just studied help to answer the question Where have most of the immigrants settled?

A great many of them, particularly those who came from the poorer countries, settled in or near the port cities through which they had arrived. Most of them had little money and could ill

¹ Adapted from Edward A. Steiner's *On the Trail of the Immigrant* (Fleming H. Revell Company, New York, 1906), pp. 266-267.

afford to spend that in venturing westward. A few, it is true, had savings which permitted them to travel as far as Hartford, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, or even as far as the urban centers of the Great Lakes. Most of the Jews, having lived in the cities of Europe, were content to settle in the eastern-seaboard cities.

Each decade swelled the immigrant neighborhoods of towns and cities with newcomers. They took up whatever work was

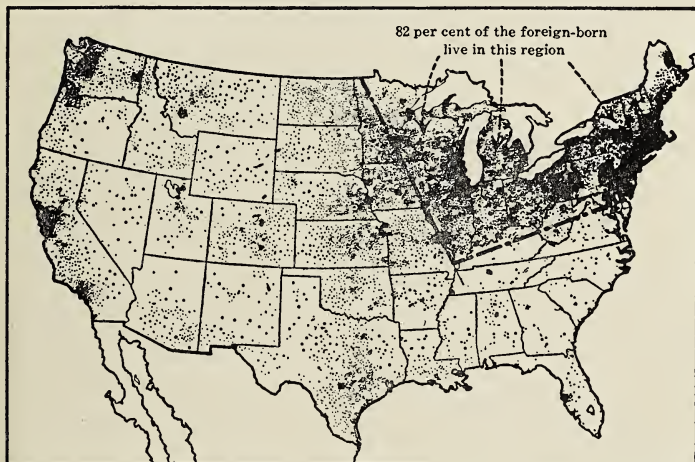


FIG. 34. The broken line incloses the area known as the "industrial zone." The dots show where the foreign-born live. What does the map tell?

available. They became machine-tenders in our factories and mills; they did the heavy labor of coal-mining and iron-mining; they excavated the foundations of our subways and our city buildings; they repaired the roads and the rights of way of our railroads; they helped to erect our skyscrapers; they became waiters in restaurants and hotels. Many of them settled down at these jobs, content to make a living as best they could.

By 1920, of the 13,700,000 foreign-born in the United States, 90 per cent were living in towns and cities and more than 80 per cent in the industrial zone. Figure 34 shows how the foreign-born are now concentrated in this small region of towns and cities. What do you think has become of the remaining 10 per cent?

THE HABIT OF FARMING LURED MANY FROM THE CITIES
TO THE RURAL DISTRICTS

Except for the Jews, more than three quarters of our new immigrants come from the farms of Europe. In their native country they were farm laborers, small landowners, or renters. The tradition of farming and the love of the land had been in their families for centuries. It was natural, then, that these children of the land should have wanted to go back to it.

Some of the immigrants who settled in the cities were able, during the course of five or ten years, to save enough money to buy farms in the agricultural regions close to the cities in which they had worked or to seek homes in the farm lands farther west. Thus from the heavy labor in Pennsylvania coal mines, from the fatigue and grime of labor in the steel mills, from the work in shops and factories, came the money with which many of the immigrant farmers finally returned to the soil.

The more ambitious and thrifty ones skimmed and saved until they got together enough dollars to buy a little piece of land in some inexpensive region. Some joined friends who had already bought small farms. Others were attracted by advertisements in the newspapers published in their own languages, telling them of inexpensive vacant land. Real-estate men advised others where to go.

Hundreds of immigrant farming communities sprang up

The immigrant farmer, like his fellows in the cities, prefers to colonize with his own countrymen. Today we find that little farming neighborhoods of Italians, others of Poles, still others of Finns or Austrians or Czechs or Slovaks have grown up. Some of the foreign-born farmers are reclaiming the worn-out, abandoned farms of New England, which the descendants of the earlier British settlers left when they entered the industries of the cities. In old New England villages, where for nearly three centuries one heard only the English language, the newspapers now advertise merchandise in Italian, Polish, and Finnish. Other colonies of Poles have cleared the stump land of northern Michigan and established little copies of their homeland communities,

which they name Posen, Cracow, and Warsaw after the cities of their native lands. The Russians can likewise be found in communities of their own in the north-central states. Slovaks too have left the coal and steel industries of the Appalachians and have set up little communities in Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio. It is reported that colonies of Slovaks now exist in more than 700 small villages in those states alone, and they have migrated even into the South in order to be on the land. The Italians have also pushed westward and southward as far as the Pacific coast and the Gulf of Mexico. Scarcely a Western state is without its Italian rural communities.

Furthermore, in choosing the land these immigrants tend to settle in regions similar to those which they knew in their homelands. For example, the Dutch frequently settle near rivers, in marshes which are like those which they knew in Holland. The Rumanians seek the valleys, the Hungarians the plains, the Italians the land on the slopes of mountains such as they farmed in Italy. Many Finns seek peat land like that on which they lived in Finland. The Japanese in California have sought out land in a climate similar to that in their native Japan.

So on land which the native American often scorns to farm, the immigrant farmer and his wife and children labor long hours each day. Carefully they nurse the barren soil, using the skill acquired through years of intensive farming. The European knows how to care for land and make it yield him a living. So the farming miracle has happened. Abandoned land, land from which the top soil has been wasted, produces abundant crops once more, and the immigrant farmer prospers. Note what one "American" farmer has said: "My Italian neighbor came here eighteen years ago with \$90.00. Now he owns two large farms, has a good car, two trucks, and one of the best homes on the Pike." Another said:

In March, 1925, that Italian yonder bought a sixty-acre farm for \$2400, practically all on mortgage. He had a wife and eight children. In June, 1926, he drove up in an old Ford and pulled the money to pay off the mortgage in ten and twenty dollar bills from a dirty old canvas bag. During the winter he had taken a job in the steel mill (urban work during the winter is quite common among the newer foreign-born

farmers) and with one winter, one season, and unpaid family labor, he paid for that farm.¹

Let us look briefly into the life of a few of these rural immigrant communities that have sprung up all over the country.

SOME WORD PICTURES OF RURAL IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES

1. A Danish community

In 1905 a group of Danes were living in Chicago. Among them was Ludwig Mosbaek, a prosperous vegetable man.

But Mr. Mosbaek did not like the city. For some time he had been telling his friends that the crowded and dirty streets were no place in which to bring up children. In a country community their children could grow up into healthy men and women. Moreover, there they could preserve the Danish language and ideals of their mother country. Would they go to the country?

Ludwig Mosbaek's enthusiasm finally won over six other Danes. A real-estate man to whom they applied took them to Askov, Minnesota, and the Danes finally bought a large tract of cut-over timber land. In the spring their families moved to Askov and set to work preparing the land. The work was hard and discouraging, and it was principally Mosbaek's enthusiasm which kept them there.

But the next year another group of Danes from Chicago settled in the neighborhood. Soon other groups followed,—from Iowa, Nebraska, Illinois, and the Dakotas,—and the Danish colony steadily grew. By 1920 the village of Askov numbered 914 people; in 1929 the estimated population was 1400. It is now a neat, prosperous town. Birches and evergreens surround the modest cottages and bungalows. In a well-planted park is an open-air moving-picture theater. There is a small brick bank building and a busy post office. A modern printing press prints *The American*, which goes to Danes all over the country.

One of the secrets of the Danes' success is their plan of "co-operative" farming. This plan is common among the farmers of

¹ Adapted from E. de S. Brunner's *Immigrant Farmers and their Children* (Doubleday, Doran & Company, Garden City, New York, 1929), p. 40.

Denmark. By "coöperation" in the business world is meant that industries are owned and operated by the community, rather than by individuals. In Askov today there is a coöperative creamery which was begun with 199 cattle that the people owned in common. The butter is sold, and after all expenses have been paid out of the total, the receipts are divided among the owners. There is, also, a live-stock shipping association, a coöperative

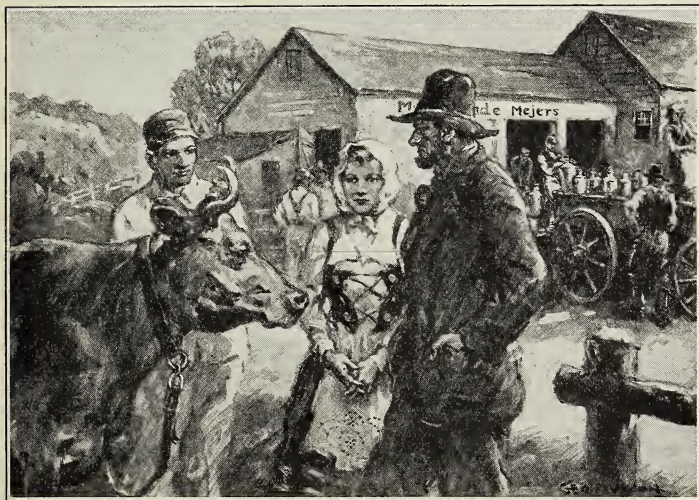


FIG. 35. A scene showing part of the coöperative dairy in a Danish rural community in the United States

insurance company, a coöperative potato-sorting plant and potato market, a coöperative flour mill and feed mill. Almost everything in Askov is bought and sold coöperatively. Now many other rural communities are adopting a plan of coöperative farming, which has proved so successful in Askov.

Much visiting goes on among the families of the little town. Meetings of the Danish People's Society and the Danish Brotherhood Society are frequent. At the Married People's Dances Danish folk dances in native costume are still performed. Although the children and most of the grown-ups can also speak English fluently, Danish is spoken in the homes.

This is only one of the Danish communities scattered throughout our country. Of the half-million Danes in the United States more than 100,000 are in the states of Iowa, Illinois, Wisconsin, Nebraska, and Minnesota. Quiet, industrious, liberal, and practical, there are no better Americans anywhere.¹

2. A Bohemian community

Until 1910, Moquah, Wisconsin, was hardly more than a name. Germans and Norwegians had settled there years before, but had become discouraged and left. Brush had grown up around the log huts they had built, and Moquah was deserted and wild.

The owner of the land decided to send two men into the industrial towns to induce Bohemians (Czecho-Slovaks) to come out and look at the farms. Soon they began to come, and as they looked, the long stretches of fields and the country air appealed strongly to them, and the crowded cities with their noisy factories seemed even more distasteful. Later a small group moved to the country and started the community of Moquah.

The people and the bankers of the near-by town of Ashland were sympathetic and helped the new farmers in many ways. The county built roads to the community, and the bankers loaned them money to buy necessary supplies. The Bohemians cleared the land for planting and purchased cattle. Soon they had established themselves firmly.

There are now about 200 families of Bohemians in and about Moquah. Their homes are small but neat. The barns, however, are large, and the cow sheds are clean and well kept. Guernsey cattle graze in the pastures. Around the houses spread rich, green alfalfa fields.

In the village itself is a coöperative flour mill, a coöperative store, and a coöperative creamery. The school building is modern, and in the school yard lively boys and girls with blond hair take exercise during their recreation periods. The people are proud of the fact that they have succeeded in making a living from land

¹ This and the following episodes were written from facts in Konrad Bercovici's *On New Shores* (The Century Co., New York, 1925) and in E. de S. Brunner's *Immigrant Farmers and their Children* (Doubleday, Doran & Company, Garden City, New York, 1929).

that others had left as hopeless. "Ha, nobody could do it, but we did it. It takes Bohemians to clear such land," said one farmer.

The people in Moquah do not mingle with other nationalities, and they still keep their own traditions and customs. Weddings and christenings are, to the Czecho-Slovaks, gay occasions. At a village wedding, the bride and groom dress in the colorful,



FIG. 36. A scene in a Bohemian rural community in the United States where the people still keep many of their native manners and customs

picturesque costumes of their native land. Fiddlers play native songs, and native steps are danced. Someone sings a song; someone else tells one of the stories they love so well. There is much laughter and feasting.

There are in the United States about 400,000 Czecho-Slovaks and about 1,300,000 native-born citizens of Czechoslovakian parentage. Over half of them are in rural districts.

3. A Dutch community

The little village of Essexville, Michigan, is perhaps the most typical Dutch settlement in our country. Although Belgians and Frenchmen live in the village proper, the outskirts are settled by

Dutch. The history of Bay County, in which Essexville lies, records that they have been there since 1840.

When asked about her life in Essexville, Mrs. Van Tole, an aged Dutch woman of 70 or more, said that she had come as a tiny girl.

My father, he first settler here maybe. But when he came he already found other Dutchmen. They came here with boats, and they like the place, and they bring wives and no more go back with the boat and stay here. And then my father he call his wife, and then I come.

The Dutch prefer marshlands, rivers, and lakes, which are like their native Holland; so they settle in places like Essexville, along the Sable River, the Vaneten Lake, and along the beach close to Lake Huron. They love to fish and to sail their ships upon the lakes. For farming, they seek the fertile land in which beets and other vegetables grow well. As Mrs. Van Tole answered when asked how she liked the United States, "Pretty well. Pretty well. Beets grow well in this country." America, to her, is the land of plenty, where beet crops are good.

The farmhouses of these Dutch settlers are built with the windows looking out over the blue waters of the lake and over the fields of beets, whose purplish-green leaves make cheerful spots of color. When the farmers are not working in the fields, they are out fishing, in gayly painted, flat-bottomed boats. This is not fishing for pleasure, however, but for the market. The Dutchman believes in hard work. On one day his wagon takes in a load of fish to market; the next, it will be filled with beets for the refinery. Before almost every house a net hangs to dry, and golden-haired girls sit in the sun mending the fishing implements.

Each Dutch family lives more or less to itself. Few enter into coöperative industries as do the Danes and the Bohemians. The Dutchman prefers a small farm of his own to large industries controlled by the whole community. He is satisfied with his own beet fields, his home, and his fishing.

There are about 50,000 farms in the country owned by people of Dutch origin. They are to be found wherever the land and climate are like those of Holland, on the sunken lands along

Michigan River and Saginaw Bay, at Muskegon along Lake Michigan, at Sheboygan and the channel of Lake Huron, on the Pacific, and in the marshes of Louisiana.

4. Italian communities in California

In 1870 a throng of Italian immigrants arrived in the United States. Many of them went on westward even to the Pacific coast. Indeed, some of the farmers in the numerous communities between Los Angeles and San Francisco have been there since the gold-rush days of the 1850's. When they found little gold, they began to cultivate grapes and cabbages. Today there are hundreds of small Italian communities clustered among the miles of fields of giant cabbages and bluish-green artichokes.

Groups of these Italians in California have formed coöperative organizations which they call *compagnie*. These companies buy or lease tracts of farm lands and elect bosses, or *padrones*, to direct the work. All the expenses of the farm as well as those of the individuals are pooled, and at the end of the year the profits are distributed equally among the workers. The boss gets a larger share.

An Italian community is a cluster of little houses, each one almost smothered in a mass of foliage, with Italian grapevines growing luxuriantly over the roofs. In front of each house is a small home garden. The Italian, who loves color and beauty, plants flowers between the vegetable beds. Around the houses stretch the green fields. The dwelling of the *padrone* is larger than the other houses. If you visit the community during the day, you will see men and women working in the distant fields. The *padrone* will, perhaps, be busy preparing grape juice for the people of his company, while his wife bakes bread in the oven in the yard. During the seasons when work is going on in the fields, the whole company eat in a large room in the chief's house, at a long, narrow pine table. In the center of this room is an immense cooking stove; in one corner is the dough trough. Bits of colored paper sticking to the rafters of the ceiling, mandolins and violins in the corners, show that a holiday gathering has been held recently. Pictures of Caruso and the Italian king and queen decorate the walls.

During harvest festivals, bands of gay Italians parade the roads. Italian and American flags wave from decorated floats upon which are stacks of grapes, artichokes, carrots, white turnips, and red tomatoes. The people play musical instruments, sing, dance, and burn wax candles before enshrined images of saints along the road. Late in the evening the band stops at the house of one of the company, where a feast has been prepared.

Many such communities of Italians are to be found in all parts of the United States, for these people seem to adapt themselves to almost any kind of climate or region. In 1920 there were 1,600,000 Italian immigrants in the country and approximately the same number of natives born of Italian parents. Italian rural communities are thriving in New England, Texas, New Jersey, North Carolina, Wisconsin, and California. In all these places Italians have taken over waste lands and abandoned farms and are proud that they have made them pay.

UNDER SUCH CONDITIONS DO THE FOREIGN-BORN REALLY BECOME AMERICANS?

We have now had glimpses of the community and neighborhood life of the newly arrived immigrants in the cities as well as on the farms of America. One important fact has been learned about this community life: it is relatively isolated from the intimate neighborhood and community life of native Americans. Owing to his inability to speak English and his ignorance of American ways of living, the newcomer seeks his native countrymen. He works with them, makes his home with them, spends his leisure time with them. If he reads at all, it is from newspapers and books printed in his own language. He keeps closely in touch with relatives and friends in his European homeland.

Thus, for some years after their arrival in America,—indeed, in some instances throughout their lives,—many immigrants are really not Americans. Although they are living in America, they continue to be more like Germans or Italians or Danes or Czechs or Poles or Russians or Austrians or Chinese than like Americans.

Of course, outwardly many of the new immigrants soon begin to look like Americans. They begin to discard the gay-colored

dresses, shawls, vests, and hatbands and adopt the kinds of clothing worn in America. The elder men may continue to wear their long beards, but the young men soon shave their faces and wear their hair short. As for food, excepting times of native holiday and festival, when they eat the food characteristic of the occasion in their homeland, most of them soon come to eat American foods.

Many attend adult evening schools where they learn to read and speak English and learn something of the history of the United States and of the ideals and customs of the American people. As the years pass, most of these "first-generation Americans" learn to converse fairly well in the American language. Finally, only a characteristic accent tells the stranger of their ancestry. Some even change their native names to others which sound more American. A few become citizens of the United States as soon as their probationary period of five years has expired.

Hence in these outward ways they appear to change into Americans. Do these changes guarantee, however, that the immigrant has really become an American? Does he feel and think as native Americans feel and think? Does he look at government in America as do the children of native-born Americans? Does he respond to the music and the art and the architecture of America as does a native son?

This is a problem of great importance and of great difficulty. We shall consider it more fully later in the book.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

- ANTIN, MARY. *The Promised Land*. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. A foreigner's experiences in America.
- BERCOVICI, KONRAD. *Around the World in New York*. The Century Co., New York. Colorful descriptions of immigrant communities in the city.
- BERCOVICI, KONRAD. *On New Shores*. The Century Co., New York. Interesting sketches of rural immigrant communities.
- HILL, HOWARD C. *Community Civics*. Ginn and Company, Boston. See Chapter VI, "Our Nation and our Country."
- HILL, HOWARD C. *Readings in Community Life*. Ginn and Company, Boston. See Chapter VI, "Our Nation and our Country."
- STEINER, EDWARD A. *On the Trail of the Immigrant*. Fleming H. Revell Company, New York.

CHAPTER V

THE CHANGING AMERICAN FAMILY

"Gold Coast and slum": a contrast in houses

On a strip of land facing Lake Michigan, for a mile in length and but two short blocks in depth, lies the Gold Coast. The Gold Coast is well named. Here live the wealthiest and most aristocratic families of Chicago. Here lies a district in which are found palatial houses surrounded by large green lawns, luxurious apartment buildings, and splendid tall hotels. The rooms in these homes of the Gold Coast are airy, large, and light. The fresh winds from the lake keep the smoke of the industrial city farther inland.

Less than a mile back from the Gold Coast lies Little Hell — the Sicilian slum district of the great city. One writer has described it thus :

Dirty and narrow streets, alleys piled with refuse and alive with dogs and rats, goats hitched to carts, bleak tenements, the smoke of industry hanging in a haze, the market along the curb . . . the dissonant cry of the huckster and peddler, the clanging and rattling of railroads and the elevated [railway] . . . the "gas house" by the river, whose belching flames make the skies lurid at night . . .¹

This is Little Hell, as well named as is the Gold Coast. Nearly side by side in the great city beside Lake Michigan lie these two neighborhoods — the Gold Coast, almost entirely American ; Little Hell, almost entirely Sicilian.

In the homes of the Gold Coast, where the incomes are \$50,000 and more a year, are found all the luxuries which America affords ; almost within sight of these homes is a district which cannot boast many of the simplest necessities, cleanliness, health, or quiet.

¹ Harvey W. Zorbaugh, *The Gold Coast and the Slum*, pp. 159-160. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1929.

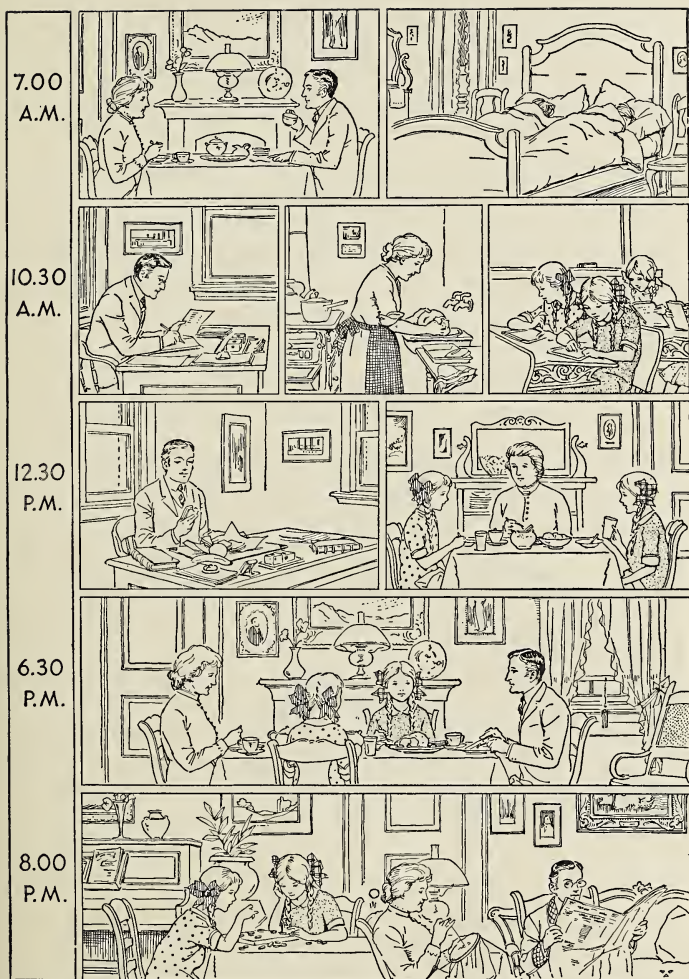


FIG. 37. An ordinary day in the life of an American family in 1890. Compare this picture with figure 50

Is this not a contrast in family and home life in America — dreary, unhappy Little Hell against the comfortable, luxurious Gold Coast? These are American homes. These are, of course, the extremes, the richest and the poorest. Between them are many other kinds of homes. In them all live the 25,000,000 families of America.

The families vary as much as do the homes they live in. In every kind of neighborhood — poor as well as rich — can be found families which are leading happy and worth-while lives; likewise in each kind can be found families which are leading unhappy and wasteful lives. Perhaps it is less difficult to lead useful lives in the homes of the Gold Coast, but it is not impossible for families in the slums.

The family — the most important group of all

In this book you are studying all the influences which make the American what he is; that is, the influences which form American culture. The most important influences upon the American

are the groups in which he lives. You have already learned about two of these groups, the communities of the nation and the neighborhoods of the nation. Our next important group is the family.

Neither communities nor neighborhoods would exist were it not for the family group. Although it is the smallest group, the family plays a very significant part in our lives.

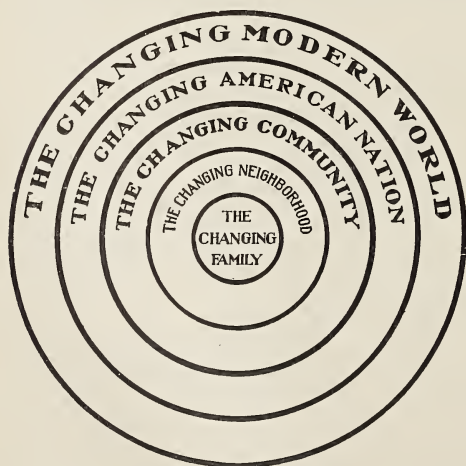


FIG. 38. The unit of American life is the family. Like all other aspects of our culture, the family and family life are changing

It is in the family that we are born; our infancy and most of our childhood are spent with its members. It is in the family that most of our thoughts and beliefs, our likes and dislikes, our ambitions and our ideals, are formed.

In 1928, in one of his campaign speeches for the presidency of the United States, Mr. Herbert Hoover expressed this thought:

The unit of American life is the family and the home. It is the economic unit as well as the moral and spiritual unit. But it is more than this. It is the beginning of self-government. It is the throne of our highest ideals. It is the source of the spiritual energy of our people. For the perfecting of this unit . . . we must lend every energy of the government.¹

If we look at the matter from the standpoint of the number of people who spend most of their time in the home, we find the following:

Of 123,000,000 Americans —

23 per cent are home-makers

19 per cent are children and other young people

11 per cent are under school age

4 per cent are old or feeble

Total 57 per cent, who spend most of their time in the home.

Even the remaining 43 per cent of our people — those who work as wage-earners, outside the home — spend a large part of their lives with the other members of their families.

As our President said, the family and the home comprise "the unit of American life." He meant that the family forms the most important group in which the individual American lives. And this group is not only the "economic unit"; it is the "moral and spiritual unit" as well.

American families differ greatly

In round numbers there are 25,000,000 families in the United States. These families vary enormously in wealth, in income, in sizes and kinds of homes, and in culture.

¹From a speech delivered by Herbert Hoover at Elizabethton, Tennessee, October 6, 1928.

Note the startling differences in income in a year which was regarded as a year of prosperity. In 1929

36 families in America had more than \$5,000,000 to spend

468 families had more than \$1,000,000

38,146 families had more than \$50,000 to spend

More than 1,000,000 families had less than \$1000 upon which to live

The income of the richest 10 per cent averaged \$10,000; that of the poorer 90 per cent averaged \$2200 a year.

What, then, should you expect to be true of the houses and homes of Americans? Do you think there is much similarity, or are there great contrasts in comfort, healthfulness, and convenience? It is impossible to describe all the types, but the following word pictures will help to answer our question.

DIFFERENT KINDS OF CITY HOMES IN AMERICA

1. Mr. Very Poor Man comes home

Mr. Very Poor Man works hard and long. Sometimes he is almost a beast working at back-breaking labor in some huge industrial plant. Sometimes he works in a smaller establishment, but always he is engaged in tiring and monotonous labor. The Mr. Very Poor Man of whom we shall speak here happens to wash automobiles for his living. He works twelve hours a day on cold wet floors. At seven o'clock in the evening he makes his way from the garage through narrow, dirty streets to his tenement home. Four flights of creaking stairs he must climb, and pass through dark, cold halls which reek with odors that seem never to leave. The man turns a knob and enters his home.

Home is a rear tenement in which Mr. Very Poor Man and his wife and five children live. There are only two rooms — a kitchen and a bedroom. The family is now in the kitchen for the warmth which the coal range affords. Here the family cooking, eating, and talking go on. Here three of the members of the family sleep. Cracks in the windows are stuffed with paper to keep out the wind. The baby sleeps in a basket close to the stove; there is scarcely room to turn, and the single, flickering gaslight leaves half the small room in semidarkness. Wet clothes

on a line strung diagonally from the corners of the room brush the heads of the family as they stoop to find their places about the table. These clothes were washed in the tin bathtub, which now hangs on the wall. Old newspapers, soiled clothes, a baby's bottle, a marble or two, empty cardboard boxes, and other

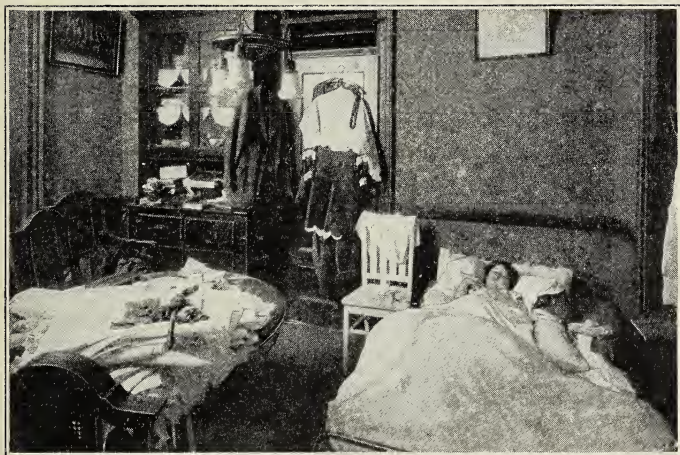


FIG. 39. This room was meant for a dining room. The home is not so poor as the one just described, nor so comfortable as that of Mr. Average Worker. Why?

miscellaneous articles litter the room, for there is no space in which to store them. This is an American home, and an American family lives in it.

2. Mr. Average Worker comes home

Mr. Average Worker may do any one of a great number of things, varying all the way from clerking in an office to the plying of a trade. In any event Mr. Average Worker labors fewer hours and gets more money than Mr. Very Poor Man. A mechanic may serve as an example of Mr. Average Worker.

The particular mechanic whom we shall describe works nine hours a day, from 8 A. M. to 6 P. M. — three hours less than Mr. Very Poor Man. His wages being larger, he is able to live in a somewhat better tenement called an apartment. Like Mr. Very Poor

Man, however, he also makes his way up a rather dark stairway, but the building is heated and the halls are better ventilated. When he enters his home, he too steps into the room where most of the family life goes on. It is the combined dining-and-living room. A small kitchen opens off this room, and kitchen, dining room, and both bedrooms have closets. One knows that in the daytime the rooms are fairly light, for each has at least one window. In addition to the actual necessities there are things which Mr. Very Poor Man would consider luxuries. The most important of these perhaps is the fifth room — a bathroom. It is small, to be sure, and perhaps the faucet marked "hot" isn't accurately labeled, but this extra room is a real improvement over Mr. Very Poor Man's home. There are other "luxuries," such as framed lithographs and prints, curtains and shades, a set of furniture, and a phonograph. This too is the home of an American family. There are millions of homes which resemble it.

3. Mr. Average White-Collar Man comes home

It is five o'clock and the head bookkeeper draws on his coat, puts on his hat and gloves, and turns out his desk light. His work day of seven hours, 9 A.M. to 5 P.M., is over. He hurries to the station and just catches the 5:25. Even now, after three years of commuting to the suburbs, he is glad for his two children's sake that he has a nice apartment in an attractive two-family house out there. At exactly 6:15 he turns into the neat, grass-lined walk that leads to the porch. To be sure, he shares the porch with the other family living in the house, but it is an airy, sunshiny place for the baby to sleep.

There are six rooms in this apartment, one of which is a "parlor," or living room. The rooms are larger and sunnier than those of the less prosperous workingmen. There are more luxuries in this home, too, a washing machine, a vacuum cleaner. The little house has an air of neatness and space about it.

There seems to be a place for everything — a built-in cupboard with rows of cups suspended from hooks and neat piles of saucers and plates; a built-in bookcase filled with a set of "standard works," including the tales of Cooper and Bret

Harte, and a few rows of miscellaneous books. A few inexpensive but well-chosen pictures adorn the walls. A new rug will soon be needed and the upholstery on the chairs is getting old, but they cannot be replaced until the children's new winter clothes have been bought and little Jackie has been fitted with spectacles. The family is getting along, however; even though

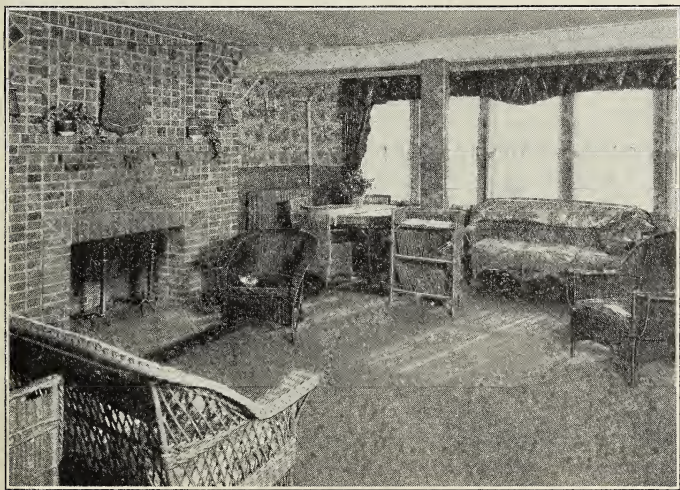


FIG. 40. This is the living room in another American home. In what ways does it resemble the home of Mr. Average White-Collar Man?

the members of it lack many luxuries, they are comfortable and happy together. There are several million Mr. Average White-Collar Men in America, and there are many homes which in many ways resemble this one.

4. Mr. Prosperous Business Man comes home

In the same town, but on the other side of the main thoroughfare, lives Mr. Prosperous Business Man. He reaches his office by automobile shortly after nine in the morning. By five-thirty in the afternoon he has put his car into the garage alongside his bungalow home. His home seems comfortable, indeed. There are a guest room and three bathrooms, and a sleeping room for

every member of the family. There are two rooms devoted to meals, the formal dining room and a breakfast room inclosed in glass which is so light that it seems as though one were breakfasting out of doors. A neat maid waits on the table and serves the food prepared by the cook. All the rooms are comfortably



FIG. 41. Do you think the family which lives in this home has a larger income than the family which lives in the home shown in figure 40? (Courtesy of *The House Beautiful*)

furnished, and in this home is every time-saving and labor-saving device that the Industrial Age has made available to housekeepers.

Mr. Prosperous Business Man has been able to afford beauty as well as comfort. The walls are beautifully decorated and soft Chinese rugs are on the polished hardwood floors. There are pieces of statuary about and an Oriental wall-hanging that Mr. White Collar Man could not buy with the savings of a year. There are useless things too, and some which are not particularly beautiful. But the whole effect is one of comfortable luxury. There are thousands of homes in America which resemble this one.

5. Mr. Cultured Man comes home

In the same suburb with Mr. Average White-Collar Man lives Mr. Cultured Man. It is about five o'clock in the afternoon, and he is just driving his car up the winding, hedge-lined drive to his little house among the trees. As he comes nearer, he can see that the hedge is a trifle uneven, and he makes a mental note that on Saturday it must be trimmed. How many afternoons he has spent in pruning those big old trees and re-seeding the lawn! he reflects. A great feeling of contentment comes over him at the sight of it.

As he drives his car into the garage, he looks at the garden and smiles. How cleverly his wife has laid it out, he thinks, and how well she keeps it in spite of her lack of a maid to do the housework. Looking at it hastily, one can scarcely tell that it serves a very practical purpose. One has to look sharp to see the vegetable garden within the border of roses, delphinia, and gladioli.

Mr. Cultured Man reaches the house. Beauty, simplicity, and order mark everything about. The same hands that made the lawn and hedge so attractive turned these rooms into a beautiful home. No more money has been spent upon it than upon the home of Mr. Average White-Collar Man across town, but what a marked difference exists between the two. The house itself, the furniture, the hangings, the many books, reveal good taste and thoughtful selection. By wise planning years before, Mr. and Mrs. Cultured Man had saved enough money from his small salary of \$2500 to build their home. What hours of discussion had gone into the planning of each room, the closets, the windows, the lighting fixtures. Perhaps that is one reason why it is such a happy and harmonious home today.

Mr. Cultured Man's wife is seated on the sun porch with Ruth and Harry, who have just finished their high-school lessons. The family plans to spend one of its evenings at the "movies." George Arliss is playing in *Disraeli*, and they feel that this is too fine a motion picture to miss.

As the father greets his family, his wife says laughingly: "You have come in the nick of time, Billy. Ruth and Harry were just telling me they've been down to see the new exhibit at

the Little Gallery and that they believe there is no real art in America. I am wondering if they haven't formed their opinions a little too hastily."

"Yes, indeed," exclaims Mr. Cultured Man, smiling at his loved ones. He sinks into a comfortable porch chair, prepared to enjoy conversation and companionship with his family.

Another American family — one of small income, but one in which life is interesting and worth while. How much courage could the people of America take if they could see this house and realize what could be done with education and careful thought!

We have described only five kinds of homes, but there are others to be found among the 25,000,000 in America. Indeed, there are countless numbers: homes in four-room, boxlike coal-miners' huts; in rough-boarded, tar-paper-covered shacks; in small, frame farmhouses; in comfortable, white-painted farm dwellings; in interesting and unusual log cabins; and in one-family and two-family stucco residences — to cite only a few. In all these homes family life goes on in America today, and it is in these homes that much of American culture reveals itself.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IS PRODUCING A NEW KIND OF AMERICAN HOME

One theme has stood out in all our studies of civilization, that of change. Ever increasing change! Our modern world is a world of changing civilizations. Every aspect of modern life is changing.

No change is more important, however, than that which is coming about in home and family life. The Industrial Revolution has entered the home. Every phase of home life is being altered: the size of the family itself, the houses in which we live, the interest of parents in their children, the recreation of the members of the family, the unity of family life — all are changing.

In order to understand this important change more clearly let us recall what we already know of American family life before 1890.

American family life before 1890

In the pioneer life on every frontier, even on the last one of the 1870's and 1880's the American family lived as a little self-sufficient group. Food was prepared in the home; the family clothing was made in the home; even household utensils and farm implements were made there.

To the pioneers the home was almost their entire world. They not only worked as a group, they took their recreation as a group. Everybody worked — women as well as men, old and young alike. The family depended upon the work which each could do, and the lives of all were bound closely together. When they left their homes for rare social gatherings, all the members of the family — even the babies — went together. Hence throughout at least the first 200 years of American history the family was what President Hoover said of it — a real unit, an economic unit, a moral and spiritual unit.

Then came machines, factories, the rise of manufacturing cities, and the first breakdown of the home

Even before the frontier disappeared, however, life in the growing towns and cities began to change as power-driven factories grew. During decade after decade in the nineteenth century, men left their homes to work in shops, mines, mills, stores, and offices. As they did so, more and more time was spent away from the home. Steadily the intimate, compact group life of the American began to disappear.

As production began to be carried on mostly by machines, each member of the family tended to take up a special kind of work different from that of the other members. Gradually this developed differing interests among the members of the family and took them into different groups. The father formed one group of friends, the mother another, the children still others.

These changes did not take place rapidly, however, until, let us say, about 1890. Even at that date the chief interests of American families centered in the home. There were few women in industry and business. Approximately 85 per cent of the women over sixteen years of age did their work in the home.

When the working day was over for the man, he usually returned to his home as the place for rest and recreation. Father, mother, and children were still bound fairly closely together. The family was a real group.

After 1890 came startling industrial changes, and the
home changed rapidly

After 1890 changes appeared with great rapidity. You have studied the most important ones so frequently that at this point we need merely to sum up those which affected family life :

1. The ever increasing invention of power-driven machines to do the work of men.
2. The invention of practicable and cheap automobiles — an auto for almost every family!
3. The widespread use of the telephone, making it possible for persons to communicate at great distances.
4. The improvement of the motion picture and its adoption as the chief form of recreation by the mass of the people.
5. The invention of the radio and its widespread use in the homes of America.
6. The rapid increase in the number and kinds of organizations — fraternal societies, neighborhood clubs, business and labor organizations, memorial, patriotic, and charitable societies.
7. The changing attitudes toward women — their work, their play, their rapid entrance into occupations outside of the home.
8. The movement toward universal elementary education and an increase in amounts of education received by all.
9. The result of these important changes and developments showing itself in the most astonishing growth of cities that the world has ever known.

THE CHIEF CHANGES IN HOME AND FAMILY LIFE

1. Families become smaller and smaller

First, we must bear in mind the steady decline in the size of the American family. Table VI presents the facts for the past 80 years. It shows that as the continent was settled, as the standard of living rose, and as education spread, American parents had fewer children. In 1850 the average family consisted of father,

mother, and, let us say, four children; in 1930, of father, mother, and two children.¹

Even though we must be careful in thinking of averages which describe a vast population, the facts of Table VI are, nevertheless, very significant. They show that American families are much smaller than they were three quarters of a century ago; probably at least one-third smaller. Furthermore, the table shows that the family is decreasing in size more rapidly today than in earlier years. Note the marked decrease between 1920 and 1930.

Is the size of families declining as rapidly in the rural districts and small towns as in the larger cities? Are families among the poor as small as those of the rich? These questions are very difficult to answer. A number of investigations which have been made appear to show that the decline in the size of the family is fairly widespread throughout the country; that is, in the smaller communities as well as in the larger ones, in poor families as well as in those of the more well-to-do. In one investigation of a rural village, a small town, and a medium-sized city in the Middle West, it was found that in 30 years the size of the family declined at about the same rate in all three.

TABLE VI²

| NUMBER OF PERSONS IN AMERICAN FAMILIES, 1850-1930 | |
|--|------------------------|
| Year | Persons to a Family |
| 1850 | 5.6 |
| 1860 | 5.3 |
| 1870 | 5.1 |
| 1880 | 5.0 |
| 1890 | 4.9 |
| 1900 | 4.7 |
| 1910 | 4.5 |
| 1920 | 4.3 |
| 1930 | 3.9 |

¹ Bear in mind what has been frequently noted concerning averages. The average American family may be thought of as the middle-sized one. Hence in 1850 more than half of the families in the United States were larger than six. Five to seven children in a family was not at all unusual; families even of nine or ten children were fairly frequent. But the average also reminds us that about half of the families in 1850 had less than four children. It is impossible of course to set forth completely the facts concerning the sizes of American families by the use of a single national average. An average of two children to the family today means there are many families with four, five, or six children, but also that there are many others with only one child or with no children at all.

² *Fourteenth Census of the United States (1920)*, Vol. XI, p. 1266. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1922. The statistics for 1850 and 1860 do not include the slave population.

What is causing the families to become smaller?

Is the size of the family decreasing because there are fewer marriages than there were formerly or because people are being married at an older age?

Tables VII, VIII, and IX will answer these questions for you. Note that a larger percentage of men and women were married in 1920 than were married in 1890, and young men are being



FIG. 42. Do you know many families as large as this one?

married at an earlier age than they were in 1890. Two conditions help to account for these facts. The first is the entrance of women into industry, business, and the professions. Forty years ago marriage was postponed until several hundreds of dollars, with which to buy furniture and other necessary things, had been saved. Today the young woman often continues to work, and the man and woman live on their combined incomes. In addition, young men today receive better salaries than did the young men in 1890; hence they can marry earlier.

We see, therefore, that the decline in the size of the family

is not due to fewer marriages or to later ones. What, then, is the cause? Why are families smaller?

Several important factors which we have already studied help to account for the decline in the size of American families.

TABLE VII

| PER CENT OF MEN 15 YEARS AND OVER WHO ARE MARRIED | |
|--|----|
| 1890 | 58 |
| 1920 | 65 |

One of the most significant is the rapid rise in the standard of living. As incomes have increased, the standard of living has increased, too, and many things which were considered luxuries not so many years ago are looked upon as necessities today. Most parents wish to bring up their children in comfortable homes and provide them with good food and clothing. All these things cost money, and many parents prefer to have two children and care for them well, rather than have four, five, six, or more whom they could rear only in a poorly furnished house and who would be badly clothed and insufficiently fed.

TABLE VIII

| PER CENT OF WOMEN 15 YEARS AND OVER WHO ARE MARRIED | |
|--|----|
| 1890 | 68 |
| 1920 | 73 |

A second factor is the steady increase in education. As you have already learned, the attendance at school has increased rapidly during the past 40 years. More and more young people are going to high school and even to college. All but a small

TABLE IX

| PER CENT OF MARRIED MEN | | |
|-------------------------|------------|------------|
| | Aged 15-19 | Aged 20-24 |
| 1890 . . . | 0.5 | 19 |
| 1920 . . . | 2.3 | 29 |

percentage of the American people can now read, and knowledge of various kinds is spreading rapidly among them. As their standard of living is improving they tend to give their children a better education. High school

and college cost money. More and more parents, looking ahead to future expenses, tend to have fewer children. The feeling grows that it is better to care well for two children and to give them a high-school or even college education than to support several more and give them only an elementary schooling.

Furthermore, as the education of women increases, as they enter business and the professions and have careers of their own

outside the home, they feel that they cannot have large families and carry on their work at the same time.

There are other factors, too. There is, for example, the decrease in child labor. In earlier times children were often regarded as sources of income for the family. Hence a family had many children in order to help support all its members. Today child labor is abolished in most communities of the United States. There is also the factor of increasing uncertainty of steady work in our industrial civilization. As machines displace workers in our factories, the uncertainty of the family income, and the movement of families from town to town in an effort to find work make it increasingly difficult to bring up large families.

We have mentioned the few very important factors which have made families smaller. As you can see, there are many reasons for these changes in American life, most of which can be traced to the Industrial Revolution.

2. As communities grew, families crowded together

Most students of the problem agree that the houses people live in play an important part in the kind of family life which people lead. Certainly one would expect to find healthier and happier people in the attractive spacious homes (such as some of those described on preceding pages) than in the crowded, dilapidated tenements of the slums. One would expect to find more neighborliness among people who live in one-family houses (see figure 45) than among those who live in the huge, impersonal skyscrapers shown in figure 44. Let us study the problem briefly and see what contrasts we find in American housing.

In what kinds of houses do Americans live? In separate one-family residences? In tenements or apartment houses? In hotels?

Although conditions have changed rapidly in our larger cities, a study of 257 communities reveals that 41 per cent of the dwellings built in 1929 are one-family houses, 11 per cent are two-family houses, and 48 per cent are apartment houses (see Table X). But this problem, like so many others that pertain to social life, is very complicated. No one average will completely describe the houses in which live our 25,000,000 families.

Housing conditions in small and medium-sized towns are very different from those in large cities. One careful investigation was made in a Middle West manufacturing community of 38,000. Of the 9200 homes in the community, 86 per cent were one-family houses, "each standing on a separate patch of ground, the latter called, with increasing significance in view of its shrinking size, 'a yard.'" Ten per cent of the homes were in two-family houses; only 4 per cent were in tenements and apartments.

In the larger cities the conditions are very different. As the cities have grown it has been necessary to erect large apartment buildings. By building upward toward the sky, hundreds of people can be housed on a small plot of land. This is the chief reason why the great apartment buildings have taken the place of the one-family and the two-family dwelling in our larger cities. Such facts help us to understand the significance of Table X.

TABLE X

| PER CENT OF DIFFERENT KINDS OF NEW DWELLINGS BUILT IN 257 COMMUNITIES OF SIMILAR SIZE | | |
|---|------|------|
| | 1925 | 1929 |
| One-family dwellings . | 47 | 41 |
| Two-family dwellings . | 17 | 11 |
| Multi-family dwellings | 36 | 48 |

Although people are living more crowded together than ever before, rents have increased enormously. Year after year the rental values of land in the central parts of our great cities have mounted higher and higher. Rents of \$2000 to \$3000 a year for a five-room or six-room apartment are common; in the sections where the wealthiest people live, apartments rent for as much as \$50,000 a year. As rents have risen, apartments for people of small incomes have grown smaller and smaller. Persons who formerly lived in six-room, seven-room, or eight-room houses are now crowded together in four or five small rooms. The kitchen has declined in size until now it is little more than a "serving pantry" and is known as a kitchenette. The dining room, formerly a separate room, is now frequently merely a built-in corner or side of the combined living-and-dining room. As rooms have become smaller, a great number of the tables, chairs, sideboards, couches, divans, and large pianos has disappeared. Built-in furniture and conveniences are supplied in the more modern apartments.

The tenant in one of these little modern city apartments points out :

The "reception alcove," clothes chute, vacuum attachment, running ice water, and electric can opener. Everything is collapsible, sliding, folding, built in, grooved, or hung on pivots. These devices, he [the tenant] will tell you, are the "twenty-eight comfort units" without which life is, in America, not considered lively.



FIG. 43. This photograph shows the houses which stood on one New York street in 1910. Compare them with those in figure 44

He would even show you his baby — if it were possible. But in the daytime it is sent out to an "infant school," now such an essential feature of this city. . . . When it is returned home, at night, any member of the family, "without taking a step," can "enclose" it with a "vertical shutter" in the tidy "nursery alcove."¹

The steady disappearance of yards and lawns

Forty years ago a city block in a middle-sized community consisted generally of eight house lots, each one about 60 feet wide and 125 feet deep. On each lot there was room for a large

¹ Miriam Beard, in the *New York Times Magazine*, November 7, 1926, p. 4.

house, a lawn, and a small kitchen garden or flower garden behind the house. Frequently there were wide open spaces between the one-family and two-family houses — large yards where the children of the neighborhood gathered to swing from the limbs of apple or cherry trees and play "Run, sheep, run," hide and seek, and other games.

As building lots became smaller one-family and two-family houses were built closer together. Naturally, lawns, yards, and gardens also diminished in size. Often a large part of the building lot was used for a garage to house the family automobile. Today in typical communities house lots average less than 40 feet in width, and each block contains ten to fourteen lots. Alleys or side streets have been cut through the depth of the lots, and small houses and garages built on the ground where gardens were formerly planted.

The story of this change in the housing of American families is summed up in the contrasts presented by figures 43 to 46. Figures 43 and 44 illustrate the kind of changes which have taken place in the cities. On the ground which formerly housed six or eight people hundreds now live. Figures 45 and 46 tell the story of the change in housing in the smaller communities. The custom of building houses on large plots of ground and well apart from neighboring houses is disappearing.



FIG. 44. The great impersonal apartment houses which have been built where those shown in figure 43 used to stand

3. The New Industrial Revolution brought improvements in health and convenience

In 1890 there were few conveniences in American homes. Scarcely one family in ten in a middle-sized community had running water in the house or even a hydrant out in the yard. Water was usually obtained from the house pump, which was located either in the kitchen or just outside the back door. In a report from the Board of Education of "Middletown" for 1888 was recorded the following financial item: To "Eph. Smell . . . 1 wooden pump for High School . . . \$10.00." Rather amusing, is it not, to think of a city high school getting its water from a pump?

In the entire community there were only 25 bathrooms. In the larger cities there were tens of thousands of families with neither running water nor built-in bathtubs. For all but the well-to-do bathing was a "Saturday night" affair. The weekly bath was taken in a small, portable wooden or tin tub with water brought from the pump in pails and heated on the kitchen stove. Few houses had sewer attachments and few communities sewage-disposal plants. Not one tenth had furnace heaters.

As the Industrial Revolution developed after 1890, housing conditions slowly improved. Laws were passed in various states, requiring running water and sewer attachments for all town and city houses. Communities were persuaded to build reservoirs and to pipe water under the streets to the houses of the citizens.

As a result improvements came in the middle-sized and larger cities and, later, even in the smaller ones. Practically all new houses have running water and most of them have bathrooms. It is estimated that today there is one bathtub for every seven people in the United States. This is much more than in the most advanced countries of Europe. Nevertheless, much remains to be done. Many of the old houses of the 1880's and 1890's still stand. It is estimated that in one average middle-sized community, one fourth of the dwellings still lack running water and bathrooms. A recent investigation of housing in New York City showed that there were approximately 550,000 residence buildings in the city. In many of these tenements and apartments more than 2,000,000



FIG. 45. In 1890 good-sized lawns usually surrounded the houses of the smaller communities



FIG. 46. Today even in our smaller communities there are few large lawns, and houses are often set close together

people were living under conditions which in health and convenience were below the standards set by law. A study of 1000 families in 1929 showed that less than half of the families in the old tenement buildings had baths and 87 per cent still had to supply heat from coal or oil stoves in their separate tenements. In another recent survey of the houses in two city blocks in Chicago, in which 877 people were found to be living, there were



FIG. 47. A kitchen in an old-style tenement house. It is dark, cluttered, and inconvenient. (Courtesy of the Tenement House Department, City of New York)

only two bathrooms. According to recent investigations, one group of 3300 persons in Boston were living without a single bathtub, and another group of 1700 persons in New York had no tubs. At the other extreme, in many of the houses and apartments of the wealthy, there is a bathroom for every bedroom in the home.

Although sanitary conveniences have also improved, even today there are many houses still unconnected with sewers. In the larger cities, thousands of tenements can be still found in which there is but one water faucet and a single toilet in the hall for the use of all the families of the building.

In general, however, great improvements have been made. The new houses and apartments are being built with much greater regard for sanitation and convenience. Improvements have come in the provision for light and air. In the years before 1900 there were thousands of rooms in our larger cities which were entirely dark. Rooms ran in an almost unbroken line from the front of the house to the back. There were no windows in the



FIG. 48. A kitchen in a model tenement today. It is light, neat, and convenient. (Courtesy of the Tenement House Department, City of New York)

inside rooms. Windows opened on the street in a room which was usually the parlor; other windows opened on the back yards in a room which was usually the kitchen. Bedrooms were provided with tiny windows that opened onto small covered shafts. Odors from the lower apartments wafted up to mingle with those above.

Then came a campaign to improve housing in the slums of our great cities. In 1900 there were approximately 350,000 dark and airless rooms in New York; in 1925 there were only about 250 *totally* dark ones. This sounds like an amazing improvement in so short a time, does it not? To be sure, a further investigation revealed that many windows did not open outdoors but

merely into other rooms. Still the buildings and health departments of cities and towns have really effected great improvements in recent years, and in many middle-class apartments in the larger cities all the rooms are provided with windows which open upon airy and sunny outside spaces.

Another great improvement has come about in the use of artificial light. In the 1870's Edison had invented a practicable incandescent light and the means of sending electricity over long distances. Even in 1890, however, the oil lamp was being used in most American homes. There were a few regions where natural gas had been discovered, and here the gas was sent through pipes into the homes.

Then came the development of the electrical industry, the building of electric light-and-power plants in almost every large and small community in the country. Electric light began to illuminate homes all over the United States. Although in 1890 only about 5 per cent of the homes were supplied with electric light, today more than 20,000,000 homes, or about 80 per cent, are wired for electric light. Even farmhouses distant from central power stations have been equipped with generators, and many farmhouses are illuminated by electricity in this way.

These examples are typical of the improvements in health and convenience of the changing American home.

DO AMERICANS OWN THEIR HOMES?

There has long been a feeling that really to be a respected citizen, a man should own his home by the time he has reached middle age. Surrounded by this American tradition many young men begin to save when they are quite young in the hope of purchasing a lot and later building a little house upon it. Those who prosper accumulate savings and are able to carry out their cherished ambition.

It is with great pride that the young carpenter, clerk, or chauffeur sees the cellar of his new home being dug, the foundations being laid, and the frame going up. And what a day of satisfaction is that when he and his wife and little children move their belongings into their own home. Even if there is a mort-

gage on it, he has a steady job and, barring accidents and long illness, their savings should pay that off in the future.

As the years go on, perhaps promotions come and earnings grow larger. The family looks forward to adding extra rooms to their house for the children or perhaps to selling the house and building a larger one in a somewhat better neighborhood. Home ownership is indeed one of the ambitions of young Americans.

But changes have come with the Industrial Revolution which have made home-buying increasingly difficult. In frontier days land was practically free for the taking, and timber was at hand ready to be cut down and built into a house. As towns and cities grew behind the frontier, however, land became more valuable. Farm land which sold originally for \$1.25 an acre steadily advanced in price until even by 1890 good farm land in some parts of the country was valued at between \$100 and \$200 an acre. Steadily it became more difficult for even farmers to own their homes.

In the towns and cities, however, it became even more difficult. As people crowded together land became so valuable that it was sold by the square foot instead of by the acre. Even by 1890 a small building lot in a medium-sized community would cost from \$500 to \$1000. Today, in such communities, an even smaller lot would cost from \$2000 to \$3000. A larger one near the center of a medium-sized city is worth today from \$5000 to \$10,000; one near the center of our larger cities may cost \$25,000, \$50,000, \$100,000, and in some cases even \$1,000,000 or more.

Nevertheless, ambition drove young men and women on to save and invest in homes of their own. By 1890 nearly 48 per cent of the houses of the United States were owned by those who lived in them. Even by 1920 more than 45 per cent of the one-family houses of the United States were owned by the persons who lived in them (see Table XI). Furthermore, as Table XII shows, the *number* of people who owned their homes increased between 1890 and 1920. Home-ownership did not keep pace with the increase in population, however. We therefore find that the *percentage* of houses owned by the people who lived in them in 1920 was about 2 per cent less than in 1890. This is a brief summary of the condition for the country as a whole.

But really to understand the problem of home-ownership, one must distinguish between conditions in the villages and small towns and those in the larger cities. In villages and towns a much larger proportion of people own the houses in which they live. Of those who live near the center of our urban communities, not

TABLE XI

| PER CENT OF HOUSES OWNED OR RENTED BY PEOPLE LIVING IN THEM — 1890, 1920 | | |
|---|------|------|
| | 1890 | 1920 |
| Rented | 52.2 | 54.4 |
| Owned | 47.8 | 45.6 |

more than one person in ten owns the building in which he resides.

Why are there these differences between home ownership in the small and the larger communities? No doubt you can answer the question yourself from

what you have already learned. There are two reasons. The first is the great increase in the cost of city land.

The second reason is the necessity for building large apartments in place of one-family and two-family homes. Remember that as cities grow, buildings become taller and taller, bigger and bigger. Two-family houses are seen less frequently as four-family, six-family, or eight-family apartment blocks take their places. As congestion still

TABLE XII

| NUMBER OF AMERICANS OWNING OR RENTING THE HOUSES THEY LIVE IN — 1890, 1920 | | |
|---|-----------|------------|
| | 1890 | 1920 |
| Rented . . | 6,623,735 | 13,236,709 |
| Owned . . | 6,066,417 | 11,114,967 |

further increases and more city workers demand homes, these small wooden apartment buildings are pulled down and ten-story, fifteen-story, or twenty-story steel and concrete apartment houses are built upon the land they formerly occupied.

Most individuals are unable to purchase such expensive land and build skyscrapers upon it. Only corporations or groups of individuals can raise enough capital to do this. Once more our old friend the corporation enters the scene. Building companies are formed; shares of stock are sold to the public and bonds are issued. Large sums of money are accumulated with which to construct great buildings on costly land.

Is there, then, no way by which the ambition to own a house can be satisfied in the large city? No, there is no way to own a separate house, unless one has wealth. A way has been invented, however, by which one can own the individual apartment in

which one lives. The plan is coöperative ownership. Increasingly within the past 25 years, the idea of coöperative ownership has spread. You have seen how it developed in various immigrant communities. You have seen how it works in the owning of stock in corporations. Some of our larger corporations are owned by hundreds of thousands of individual citizens, most of whom own only a few shares of stock.

The same method is being tried in the building of city apartment houses. Citizens join together in companies, each buying a stated number of shares to cover the cost of the apartment in which they are to live. Each pays a definite amount of rent, and after the expenses of running the apartment house have been paid, each receives his share of the profit, just as the members of any commercial company would. Various reports come from these experiments in coöperative apartment-house ownership. In some places the plan has succeeded; in others it has failed. It is impossible at this time to draw a general conclusion concerning the success of the idea.

How can a poor man own a house?

Perhaps you have already put two important facts together: first, that most people in America have only a bare living wage; second, that land and houses cost large sums of money and are becoming increasingly difficult to own. No doubt, you are asking also, How can a poor person own a house even in the small towns of America?

You have already learned that the average income of an American family is less than \$2000 a year. This is barely enough to pay for the average family's rent, food, clothing, and other necessary expenses and provide for simple recreations. Furthermore, Table XIII shows us the cost of houses in a middle-sized community. More than

TABLE XIII

| VALUE OF 9200 HOUSES IN "MIDDLETOWN," 1924 ¹ | | |
|---|---------------|--------------------|
| Value | Monthly Rent | Per Cent of Houses |
| \$7000 and over | \$55 and over | 7 |
| 4500-7000 . . | 40-55 | 22 |
| 2500-4500 . . | 25-40 | 44 |
| Less than 2500 . | 10-25 | 27 |

¹ Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown*, p. 103. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1929.

nine tenths of the homes are valued at less than \$7000 ; nearly three quarters at less than \$4500. These seem small amounts to pay for a house when compared with the cost in many parts of the country. To a man earning \$2000 a year, however, it is a large sum. However, figure 49 helps you to understand why modern houses, even for people of small incomes, cost so much. Conveniences, considered necessities today, are built into it that would have been regarded as luxuries even 50 years ago.

Can a poor man ever hope to own a house? Yes, there are ways.

The work of the building-and-loan associations

This problem of helping the individual to own a home has been solved in a typical American way — namely, by the forming of coöperative building-and-loan companies which lend money to prospective home-owners. The way it is accomplished is about as follows: The person selects a lot. He purchases this in one of two ways — either he may save and pay cash for it or he may buy it on the installment plan, paying a certain amount each month. After he owns the lot, he goes to a building-and-loan association, a coöperative bank, or a savings-and-loan association and secures a loan, giving a mortgage on his lot as security. With the money he builds his home. The loan association is in most instances a coöperative corporation in which many citizens own stock. They charge the borrower interest on his loan (generally 6 per cent) and, in addition, frequently expect him to pay off the principal of the loan in regular installments.

Many students of the problem call this "the American method of owning a home." In a report of the United States Bureau of the Census, one expert states that nine tenths of the homes in middle-sized and small communities are bought and paid for in this way. So there is a way for the small salaried man to own his home. In 1928 it was estimated that there were 12,800 building-and-loan societies in the United States.

The movement began 100 years ago with the establishment of the Oxford Provident Building Association of Philadelphia (1831). In the next half-century other associations like it were started in

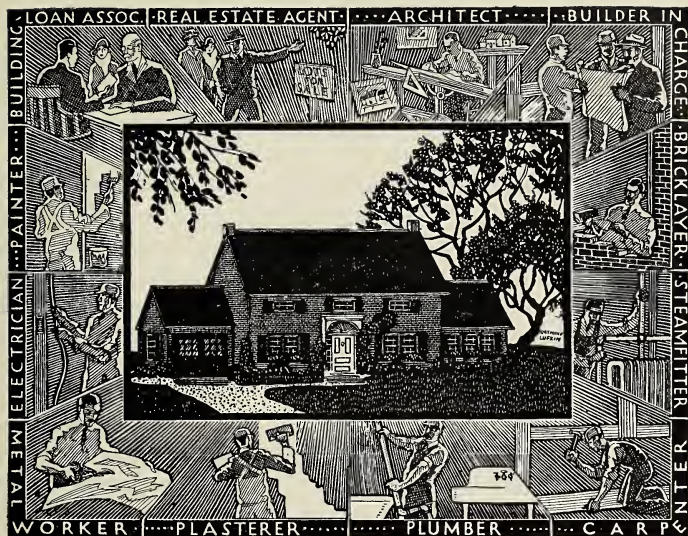


FIG. 49. A modern house and some of the people who have been concerned in the making of it. How many other people can you think of who might have had something to do with it?

New Jersey, New York, Illinois, and other states. They did not begin to flourish, however, until about 1880. By 1897 their assets reached a total of more than \$600,000,000. Within the past 30 years they have spread rapidly, and today their resources total several billion dollars.

There is another method of home ownership which is sometimes used, but is not so popular as that just described. It is the "contract for deed" plan. By this plan the house is paid for in monthly installments. The amount paid monthly is one and a half times the rent which the house would bring. If, however, the prospective owner fails for two successive months to meet his payments the house becomes the property of the person lending the money. You can easily see that this method would not be very popular with the working class, because they are frequently out of work for weeks or months at a time and may, therefore, be unable to meet the payments regularly.

Summing up the factors which are working against
home ownership

There are several important factors besides small income which make it difficult for more people of the United States to own homes.

First and foremost is the increasing uncertainty of getting and keeping a job. One writer has described the problem of unemployment in this way: "It used to be only overalled labor that was shifted from place to place in the wake of industrial booms. Today the white-collar worker is in a similar state." To such workers, to those who must follow industrial booms or who are transferred for one reason or another from place to place, the ownership of a home is often a burden. One woman said in explaining her battle-scarred furniture, "We've moved six times in the past two years. I've got so I teach the children their history and geography from the car window as we go along!"¹

The second factor working against home ownership is the increasing desire for automobiles. Many building-and-loan offices report that membership in their associations has been decidedly reduced in recent years by the sharp reduction in the prices of automobiles and the American installment method of buying them. Officials of companies which sell automobiles in this way say that frequently one week's wages out of every four are devoted by the working class to the payment for a car in which they are then riding.

The third factor is the increase in education. More and more people are sending their children through the high school. This reduces the savings of families and postpones the ownership of homes until the children have received their education.

Finally, a fourth factor is the harsh terms of the "contract for deed" plan. Many people have been persuaded to buy houses on this plan and later have found themselves out of work and unable to pay the rent. Since in many instances they have lost all that they invested, the system has created much bitterness.

¹ "Home is Where the Job Is," by Grace Nies Fletcher, in *Scribner's Magazine*, December, 1930.

These, then, are the most important changes that have come in American homes during the past 40 years. They have helped to bring about other important changes in the life of the American family. To the study of these we turn in the next chapter.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET
ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

See the readings listed at the close of Chapter VI.

CHAPTER VI

THE CHANGING AMERICAN FAMILY (CONTINUED)

1. Housework in 1890

With such radical changes in the houses in which we live what should you expect to be true of the work done in the home? Has the New Industrial Revolution affected that? Let us see.

Have you ever heard this old jingle?

Man works from sun to sun;
Woman's work is never done.

It describes the work of the home-maker until after 1890. Hers was a continuous round of work. Night after night she was engaged in setting bread, replacing buttons on clothes, bathing the younger children, or doing other tasks which could not be done during the day. Each day saw the never ending repetition — setting the table, washing dishes, making beds, "straightening up" the rooms, tending the fire, and cooking. Each day of the week also brought its special tasks — one day for washing, another for ironing or for baking, and still another in which the house was given a thorough cleaning from top to bottom. Spare time was used in shopping, mending, and sewing for the family. Even much of the visiting was done while mending or sewing went on.

Twice each year for nearly a week the whole home was in confusion while the spring and fall house-cleaning took place. Such scrubbing, such mopping, such dusting! In the spring the curtains were laundered and re-hung. The heavy draperies were taken from the windows and passageways, and were cleaned and stored away. Linen coverings, which had been laundered and stored during the previous autumn, were taken out to cover the upholstered sofas and chairs. Finally, the house was ready for the summer. In the fall the same scrubbing, mopping, and dust-

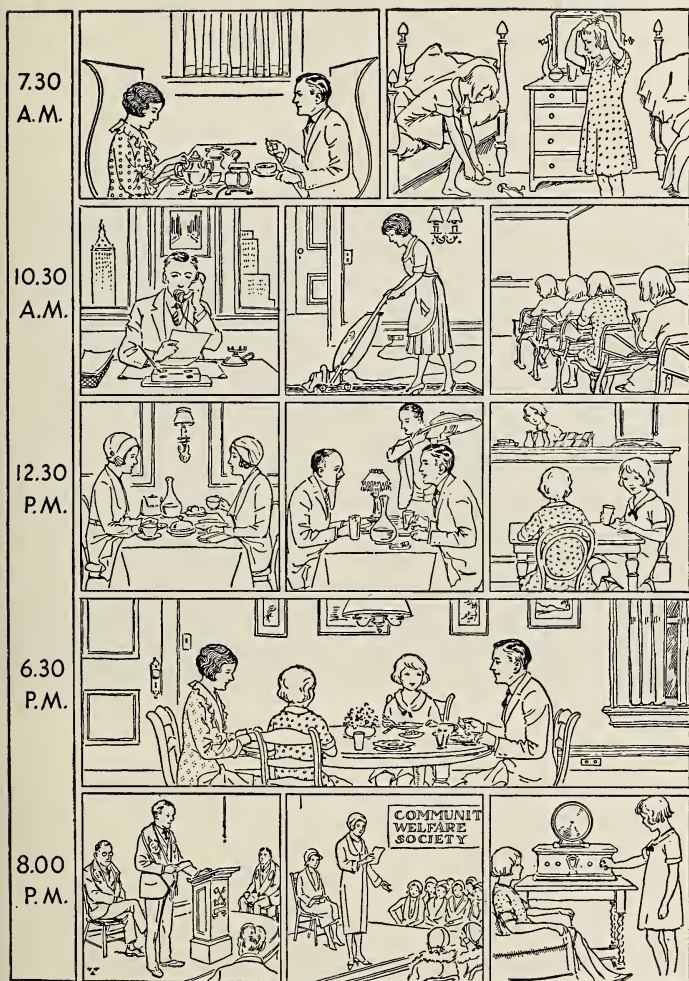


FIG. 50. An ordinary day in the life of a modern American family

ing went on. Curtains were re-laundered and re-hung; heavy draperies were taken from drawer or closet and put up again, and the house was ready for the winter.

The amount of time which housewives spent in cleaning is shown by an extract from a diary of 1887:

Wed. 19th. Bessie commenced cleaning house yesterday morning . . .
Fri. 21st. Still cleaning house . . . *Sat. 22.* Still cleaning house; done with upper part of house (except our room), parlors and lower hall . . .
Mon. 24. House cleaning still going on; our room in the mess today . . .
Tues. 25th. House cleaning finished last night.¹

Housework was laborious and monotonous. Lifting ashes from the stove, carrying pails of water, sweeping, and rubbing clothes clean were tasks which required a strong body. Kitchens were large and many unnecessary steps had to be taken. Kitchen sinks were low, and washing dishes was a back-breaking task.

The cooking alone required hours and hours of work. Bread, cake, pies, and other pastries were baked every week. During the summer, vegetables, fruit, pickles, and jam were canned and stored for the winter. Fresh vegetables were prepared by hand. Rarely, indeed, did the family eat a meal in restaurant or hotel.

Mothers of families were usually helped by the older children in the less skilled jobs about the house; together they managed to keep the multitude of household articles clean and in repair. Only a few well-to-do families had servants who did the household chores.

2. Housework today

What a change has taken place in housework in 40 years! The Industrial Revolution has indeed entered the home. The problem today is not to find an extra pair of hands to help, but to find enough for the young members of the family to do.

People are still fed, houses are cleaned, and clothes are laundered. But how differently these things are done today! Note, first, the changes in the preparation of food. Bread, pies, cake, or pastry need no longer be made in the home. These can be purchased from the neighborhood bakery about as cheaply as

¹ Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown*, p. 171. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1929.

they can be made. The corner grocery or delicatessen supplies bread of many kinds and sizes, sliced and wrapped. Canned or tinned soups, meats, fish, vegetables, fruits, jams, and pickles may all be purchased practically ready for serving.

Table XIV shows how dependent the housewife has become upon canned fruits and vegetables. Commercial bakeries which bake more than 5000 loaves of bread an hour flourish all over the



FIG. 51. This is the way rugs were cleaned in 1890



FIG. 52. This is the way a great many rugs are cleaned today

country. In the typical small town in 1890, it is estimated that not one fourth of the bread eaten in the community was commercially baked; today the proportion amounts to almost three fourths. As late as 1909 the bread-baking industry ranked eighteenth among the national industries; today it is eighth. Thus the Industrial Revolution has brought changes in food-getting.

Much of the housework is also done away from the home. The family laundering is done by "hand laundries," the "hand" being used largely to direct machines! Pressing and repairing of clothes, as well as the cleaning of rugs, curtains, draperies, blankets, and other large articles, are done at the professional cleaner's.

Whatever tasks must be done in the home, such as washing dishes and cleaning the house, are very much simplified. Vacuum cleaners and electric dishwashers do the work faster and better than the housekeeper of 1890 could have done it.

Kitchen utensils too have undergone changes. The old bowl-and-chopper is no more; patent "grinders" which chop quickly

TABLE XIV

| VALUE OF COMMERCIALY CANNED FRUITS, VEGETABLES, AND SOUPS IN THE UNITED STATES | |
|--|--------------|
| 1889 | \$29,862,000 |
| 1909 | 91,439,000 |
| 1914 | 151,960,000 |
| 1927 | 400,238,000 |

and with little effort have taken their place. Devices for paring and slicing vegetables and fruits, for shelling peas, for hulling strawberries, and for dicing foods have been invented to lighten the burden of the home-maker.

The oil lamp of the 1890's which had to be refilled, trimmed, and cleaned daily is almost a rarity. In most homes to obtain light one needs merely to push a button or pull a chain. Heat for warming rooms, toasting bread, or ironing clothes is obtained in the same way. In many houses instantaneous gas heaters supply water of any temperature at any time.

Not all homes, however, are equipped with the timesaving and labor-saving inventions which we have enumerated. Some have all of them; others have almost as few of them as were known in 1890. To some extent, however, the Industrial Revolution has affected every housekeeper in the land.

3. Changes in clothing: 1890 and today

The Industrial Revolution has changed our clothing too. In the badly heated houses of 1890, much more clothing was needed than in the superheated ones of today. Heavy woolen underclothing was worn in the winter, and a day in the late spring was selected in which to change from flannels to cotton. He was a lucky person, indeed, who escaped a cold in the head on that day!

Women wore several petticoats, a flannel one over the underclothing and layers of stiffly starched, cotton petticoats over the flannel. A lined woolen dress covered the petticoats, and high collars protected the neck and throat. Even the men wore lined

trousers and lined and interlined coats. Woolen or heavy cotton stockings were worn by both men and women.

But today all that has disappeared. As one student of changes in customs said: "Today flannel underwear is almost as obsolete as the . . . high-necked, long-sleeved nightgowns for women, and the heavily lined trousers for men." Woolen underwear is not generally worn; cotton, silk, or rayon are used both in summer and in winter. Cotton stockings too have almost disappeared. Gone are the many petticoats and the lined dresses.

In 1890 it was not considered respectable to buy ready-made clothing. Only those unable to buy sewing machines were dependent upon the poorly sewed and poorly cut store clothes. Woven winter underclothing was purchased at the store, but dresses, petticoats, and summer underclothing were usually made in the home.

Long hours were spent by the mothers, perhaps assisted by an older daughter, in making the clothes for the family. What yards of ruffles, tucks, and pleats went into the making of them; what tedious hours and what eyesight!

Think of your own clothing today and how it contrasts with that of your grandmothers and grandfathers in 1890. How much of it has been bought in the store? Does it not seem well cut and



FIG. 53. Women's clothes in 1890 (left) were tight and uncomfortable. Compare them with clothes in 1930 (right). (Left, courtesy of the *Ladies' Home Journal*; copyright by the Curtis Publishing Company. Right, redrawn from *Vogue* for May 10, 1930; copyright by the Condé Nast Publications)

well made in comparison? Do you think it is more attractive in style? Do you feel that the simpler clothing of today is an improvement over that of 1890?

HOW HAVE THESE CHANGES AFFECTED THE HOME-MAKER?

The changes which we have described have affected all the members of the family. Most of all, however, they have affected the home-maker herself. As we have said, her tasks are lighter, and her working day is shorter. More work is done for her family by others outside the home, and more labor-saving devices are used by her inside of it.

As a result of these changes the home-maker spends today much less time on housework than her mother did in 1890. In one study of 112 housewives of the working class in a Middle West town, it was found that less than a fourth now spend seven hours or more on the routine housework; more than two thirds spend between four and seven hours; and eight, or one fourteenth of the 112, spend less than four hours a day! Four to seven hours a day in housework! In 1890 the mothers of these women spent ten to fifteen hours a day. A change indeed!

How is the time saved from monotonous labor used? Some women spend more time with their children. Others spend more time on interests outside the home — bridge clubs, political clubs, community work, church work. Still others do work outside the home. They help in this way to add to the family income.

Women have increasingly entered industry, business, and the professions

As home-makers found that housework took less and less time, and as they needed less help from older daughters, more women entered industry and business. In 1890 approximately 19 per cent of the women of the United States over sixteen years of age worked outside the home in gainful occupations. In 1920 the number had grown to 24 per cent. (See figure 54.) Most of these were the unmarried women who were no longer needed to do housework. Some were home-makers themselves whose work had been taken out of the home or who did not feel that house-

work was any longer important enough for them to engage a large amount of their time. Today there are many who have small children and manage their homes and do such additional work as taking in sewing or washing, pressing clothes, dressmaking, typewriting, or making artificial flowers.

Thus the Industrial Revolution, in cutting down the time needed for housekeeping, has given women leisure and strength for other things — for greater attention to the rearing of children, for work outside the home, and for a richer personal and social life.

Is there a changing attitude toward what the man and the woman should do in the home?

Throughout American history men have been regarded as breadwinners, and women as home-makers. That is, husbands and fathers were supposed to earn the money to provide for the support of their wives and children; wives and mothers were supposed to keep the house, prepare the meals, and take care of the children. Nearly all the women's waking hours were spent in the home; most of the men's waking hours were spent at work outside the home in stores, shops, factories, or offices. The men left home early in the morning, in autumn and winter frequently before sunup, ate their lunches away from home, and returned in the evening. While the men were away at work the mother and elder daughters cleaned the house, washed and ironed, made clothes, cooked, and took care of the younger children.

In the evening after a long day's work the husband and wife were often too tired to go out of the house. So they remained at home, together, yet far apart. The husband knew very little about housework; the wife knew nothing about business. They had little in common to talk about. But steadily changes came. The number of hours of work both for the man in industry and

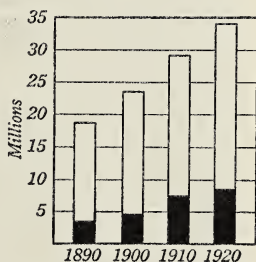


FIG. 54. The heights of the bars indicate the total number of women in the United States from 1890 to 1920. The black areas show the number of women engaged in gainful occupations

for the woman in the home decreased. Today husbands leave the house well after sunup in the winter. They begin work at 8, 8:30, or even 9 o'clock; they stop work at 6, 5:30, or 5 o'clock. In many families today wives also leave home and begin and end their work in an office, store, or factory at the same time that their husbands do. Their interests and hours of work are more alike.

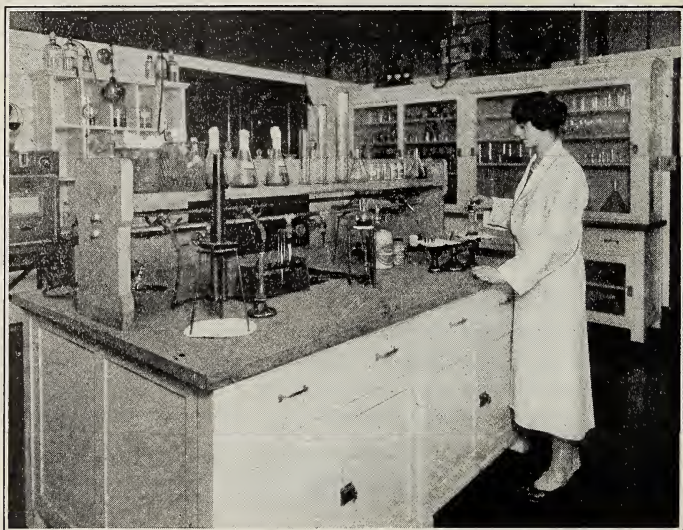


FIG. 55. Many women find that their housework does not keep them sufficiently occupied, so they enter industry, business, or the professions

Has this affected the way people feel about what men and women should do in the home? It has, indeed. In some homes where both husband and wife work, the breakfast is prepared, the beds made, the dishes washed, and the house cleaned by both of them. At night the husband may stop at the grocer's and order or bring home the food for dinner. In many homes where the woman still continues to be the home-maker and the man the breadwinner, the husband dries the dishes after dinner or gives Bobbie his bath so that they may both finish their day's work at the same time.

It sometimes happens, although very rarely, that when women

have been particularly successful in business or the professions they have become the breadwinners of the family, while the husbands have taken on the equally important task of caring for the house. For example, in a recent article we are told that "Mr. Y. . . minds the children and manages the household while his wife runs his business more capably than he did."¹

Mr. Z was a Western mine-owner. He married a teacher from the East, and they went to live at Mr. Z's mine. About the time their second child was born, the mine was producing so little that it was not enough to support them. Then Mr. Z became ill, and day by day they saw their savings dwindle. Finally, they returned to the East, where Mrs. Z went back to her position. Mr. Z's work had always been mining, and he could not find work in the town to which they came to live. But Mrs. Z's work as teacher now brings in enough money to support the family and Mr. Z has learned how to run the home.

These two examples are exceptional, to be sure, but they teach us that a changing attitude is developing toward work in the home.

**Is the companionship of men and women in the home
changing?**

As women entered industry and business and attitudes toward work within the home began to change, the attitudes toward the



FIG. 56. This was a rare sight in 1890. It is not unusual today

¹ Juanita Tanner, "Young Men about Town," *Scribner's Magazine*, January, 1931.

companionship of men and women changed also. Some of these changes are making companionship more possible than before; others have made it more difficult.

As women have gone out of their homes to work they have learned of the conditions and the problems which men face. As men have helped women within the house they have learned of the work and the problems which confront women. Thus men and women are coming to have more in common than they had in 1890; they can discuss things with each other more understandingly.

Changes in education are also altering habits of companionship. The wives and mothers of today are better educated than were their grandmothers and great-grandmothers. Often husbands and wives are graduated from the same school or college; they have had the same lessons; they have somewhat the same background of knowledge. Interesting conversation on the same subjects, therefore, makes their lives more pleasant and companionable.

Increasingly, also, women are participating in sports. They play golf, they play tennis, they swim. Thus in play life as well as in work life greater companionship is possible between men and women.

But there are difficulties also. In some homes there is little companionship between husbands and wives. Why is that true?

Perhaps it all can be summed up as a matter of our likes and dislikes, what each of us considers worth while. There are great differences among people; some like one thing, some like another. For example: Is your favorite study the favorite study of all of your schoolmates? Is your favorite sport theirs? Probably many of them prefer to spend their leisure at the "movies," while you prefer to spend yours reading a good novel.

So it is with husbands and wives. The husband frequently likes one thing; the wife another. These differences may affect nearly everything about the home and family life — clothes, furniture, the cooking of food, arrangement within the home and on the grounds, the automobile, recreation. But it is just these differences in likes and dislikes that frequently make companionship difficult between husbands and wives.

Furthermore, today there are so many kinds of interests outside the home that husbands may choose their favorite ways of spending their leisure time and wives may always choose their favorite ways, too. There are men's card clubs and women's card clubs; fraternal organizations for men and similar organizations for women; and neighborhood, church, and civic clubs for each. Almost every grown-up belongs to an organization of some kind,



FIG. 57. Card clubs occupy some of the leisure time of men and women, but they sometimes serve to separate them from each other

and these organizations take people out of the home often when they might be enjoying one another's companionship. The man's club night may be Tuesday; the woman's club night, Wednesday. This takes them away from each other on two evenings; and it also gives them outside interests which they do not share with each other. Then a man may come home tired on Thursday night and prefer to stay at home, reading the newspaper or listening to the radio. His wife may have been in the house all day and prefers to go to the "movies" with the children. So for another evening they are separated.

Perhaps both husband and wife stay at home in the evening,

but because of differences in interests want to do different things. For example, perhaps the husband is a salesman and the woman a home-maker. He has been talking all day ; she has been alone all day. He is tired of talking ; she needs someone with whom she can converse. So, although they are together, there is little real companionship. This condition may also have been true in 1890, but in these days of keen competition in business and greater social activity among women, the woman feels a greater need for expressing herself and exchanging ideas with others.

Fortunate, indeed, are the husbands and wives whose interests are alike, and whose lives are made more pleasant by them. Living together necessitates, however, that each shall be willing to give way sometimes to the other or to learn to change his interests and ways of living.

The increase of divorce and separation in American families

One change is disturbing many students of our new civilization, and that is the steady and rapid increase in the breaking-up of American families. Many families have separated, the mother

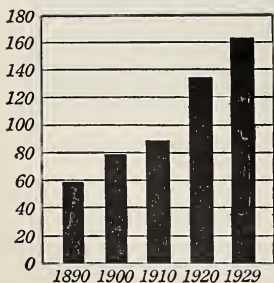


FIG. 58. The number of divorces to each 1000 marriages

and father living in different homes, while the children live with one parent. Sometimes the children are even separated from one another because of this break-up of the family—some living with one parent, some living with the other. It is difficult to discover just how many families are separated in this way. We do know, however, that there has been a rapid increase in the number of divorces since 1890. Table XV (p. 137) shows just what has taken place since 1890.

Are as many homes in the rural communities of our country being broken up as in the urban communities? From the statistics it seems as though there were a great many more broken homes in the large cities of the United States. Table XVI gives us some figures about this which are significant.

In Cook County, Illinois, is the great urban center, the city of Chicago. A large part of the state of Illinois, however, is made up of rural communities — farms, villages, and small towns.

TABLE XV

| NUMBER OF DIVORCES IN THE UNITED STATES, 1890 - 1929 | |
|---|---------|
| Year | Number |
| 1890 | 33,461 |
| 1900 | 55,751 |
| 1910 | 83,045 |
| 1920 | 170,505 |
| 1929 | 201,475 |

Note first that in 1887, including Cook County, there was only about one divorce in every thirteen marriages. Furthermore, there was little difference between divorce in the city of Chicago and in the rest of the state. Note the change between 1887 and 1924. Divorce in-

creased over the entire state, in 1924 there being one divorce to about nine marriages. However, divorces increased much more rapidly in Cook County — one divorce for every five marriages.

TABLE XVI

| DIVORCES IN ILLINOIS, 1887 AND 1924 | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| | 1887 | 1924 |
| Cook County | 1 divorce to 13.1 marriages | 1 divorce to 4.9 marriages |
| State of Illinois | 1 divorce to 13.4 marriages | 1 divorce to 8.6 marriages |

This is true not only for Illinois. In another state there were six times as many divorces in the years 1920 to 1924 as there were in the years 1889 to 1892. In almost every state of the Union divorce is steadily on the increase.

TABLE XVII

Moreover, the divorce rate is increasing rapidly in other countries also. For example, Table XVII shows the increase in three

| DIVORCES PER 100,000 POPULATION | | | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------|--------|---------|-----------------|
| Year | United States | France | Germany | Denmark |
| 1901 | 79 | 23 | 14 | 15 |
| 1911 | 95 | 37 | 24 | 27 |
| 1927 | 162 | 45 | 57 | 58 ¹ |

of the European countries, — France, Germany, and Denmark.

What is bringing about this rapid increase in divorce? Is it the New Industrial Revolution and the changes it has brought in the home? Many students of the problem think so. They

¹ 1925.

point to the increasing entrance of women into industry and business, the use of the automobile, the motion picture, the great multiplicity of things which take mothers and fathers away from each other. It is difficult to tell just how much any one of these things is responsible for the increase in divorce. All the members of the family are affected by them, and there is little doubt that they are helping to break up the older kind of life, which centered about the home.

THE CHANGING FAMILY AND THE YOUNGER GENERATION

How have the changes wrought in the American family affected the young people? Does the home mean as much to them today as it did in 1890? Is it their social center as it was then? Is most of their life spent there or are they, like their elders, changing, too?

The dining table was formerly the meeting place of the family. Is it today?

One child of Polish parents was asked whether he spoke to his mother in English or in Polish. He answered, "I don't talk to my mother; I just eat and run out." This may be extreme, but it is generally true that only at the table is the family together in these days. If anywhere, here is the real meeting place of the family. Jane has been away all day at school or at the meeting of the Girl Scouts. Jack has been practicing football all the afternoon for the game on Saturday. Mother has hurried home from the Civic League just in time to prepare the meal, and Dad took a business friend for a little drive before dinner. But there they are for dinner, and there the family news is discussed:

"Well, how did the lessons go today, son?"

"Mother, the Masque Club of the high school is giving *As You Like It* next Thursday night. Do you want to go?"

"John, I stopped by and paid the gas bill today and told them not to direct it to your office any more."

"Mary, on my way down town this morning I had the windshield repaired."

So the comments go: news of coming events, of commonplace happenings of the day, problems that have to be confronted, needs that must be met.

At dinner time, at least, many families, even in changing cities, try to be together. As one mother said: "Even if we have only a little time at home together, we want to make the most of that. In our family we always try, at least, to have Sunday breakfast and dinner together."

Outside interests have multiplied for the younger generation as well as for the older. These tend to take them from the home. There is an increasing tendency for children to spend their time with young people outside the family group and apart from their elders.

You can see that with all the outside activities of mother, father, and children, it is becoming increasingly difficult to keep the family group together. Many parents realize this and make definite efforts to know what other members of the group are doing. One woman said:

It keeps me hustling just to keep up with my husband and boys. I go to high-school games and root with my boy. Sundays I go to baseball games with my husband. I don't like Sunday sports, but he does, and it's our one chance to enjoy things together. Yesterday, my husband said, "Wouldn't some pumpkin pie go good?" But I said, "Goodness, no; I have this custard because I can't take the time to make fancy things and still keep up with my family."¹

With fine but probably misguided self-sacrifice, another said, "I accommodate my entire life to my little girl."

Family life has not changed equally in all kinds of communities, however, nor have all parents and children changed to the same degree even within certain communities. Let us see what are the conclusions from some recent studies made of families on farms, in small towns, and in cities. These will give us a general picture of what has taken place.

¹ Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown*, p. 154. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1929.

SUMMING UP — THE CHANGING FAMILY LIFE ON FARMS,
IN SMALL TOWNS, AND IN CITIES

1. On the farms

On the farms changes in family life during the past 40 years have been comparatively few. The mother still works in the home ; the father still works close at hand, in the fields or around the farm buildings. The older girls help their mothers about the house, in the garden, or in the poultry yard. The older boys go with their fathers into the fields to plow, sow, and reap. There are light jobs even for the younger boys and girls of the family, which keep them with their parents.

Much of the leisure time too is spent together. As you have learned, there are few outside recreations for most people who live on farms. Such recreations as there may be are enjoyed by most of the members of the family. For example, the mother, father, and the children get into the automobile and ride into town or to other farms to visit friends and relatives. Visiting is still the chief recreation of the rural population. Occasionally the family attends a "movie" in the nearest town, but this form of recreation is not much encouraged by the elder people on the farms. Money is usually scarce and "spendthrift habits," such as going to the "movies," are frowned upon. Except for such outings as county fairs, Grange meetings, the visit of the circus, and the like, there is little to take the family to places of recreation. Of 50 rural families which were studied, 29 spent all their leisure time together and 20 spent the greater part of it as a family group.

Some changes are beginning to appear, however, even on the farms. One parent said: "When I was a boy my father allowed us to visit neighbors only once or twice a year. After we were of age we could go to the monthly church dances, but had to be home by twelve o'clock." Many of the older folks in rural communities are worrying about the influence of the automobile, the "movies," and other attractions in towns. The complaint is heard that "young people are going out too much and straying too far," that they travel in automobiles long distances to attend dances. Other parents say: "Our children have better chances today, they are happier, they associate with other people

and do not have to look upon a person with a white collar as a being from another world.”¹ Thus you see that, although parents do not agree that the change is beneficial, it is undoubtedly true that some change is coming about in the lives of the younger people on the farms. As yet the family is still a unit, however, and the farmhouse is still much the sort of home it was in 1890.

2. In the small towns

In the small towns, more changes are seen than in the rural communities. Even in the small towns the family is less an economic and social group. Most of the fathers work in their own shops or in the stores of the town. As the boys grow old enough to work they enter their fathers' businesses or find work in other shops or stores of the community. Some of the grown girls still help their mothers about the house, although there is less need for their services since the conveniences and labor-saving devices have been introduced. At the same time, it is more difficult for them to find work in the town than it is for the boys of the family; so some of them are obliged to leave and find work in the cities. This, as you see, is a real change in the life of the younger generation. Many more girls leave the small towns and go to the cities to live today than was common in 1890.

Some mothers too find that labor-saving devices have cut down the work of the home and they are more free to help their husbands in the stores or shops. Others leave their homes to find employment in the shops of the town. But excepting those who go to the cities, the family in the small town is still an economic unit; that is, those who live at home work together and have work interests in common as do the families on the farms.

The town families, however, do not spend so much of their leisure time together as do the rural families. One study of 50 town families shows that in about three quarters of them nearly half of the members attended the “movies” weekly and about a fifth of them went two or three times a week. But, significantly enough, parents attended the “movies” with their

¹ Adapted from Edgar Schmiedeler's *The Industrial Revolution and the Home*, pp. 52, 53. The Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., 1927.

children in less than half of these families. In only one fifth of the families did parents and children spend all their leisure time together.

In the small towns there are picnics and parties, card clubs for men and women, baseball games, and automobile rides which the family enjoys together. We see, however, that among the younger people in the towns there is a growing dependence upon people not within the family group for companionship and for work, and that the members of the family live less close to one another than they do on the farms.

3. In the cities

Truly, a sharp change in family life has come in the cities since 1890. Here the members do not form an economic or social group. As the cities have grown in size, fathers, grown sons and daughters, even mothers, frequently work in far-distant parts of the city. After studying 50 city families in one middle-sized community, one author said:

Commonly the workers performed their tasks in entirely different environments. The father, for instance, went to the packing house, the son to the garage, the daughter to the office or store. The tasks of the workers varied. Their business interests differed.¹

In the 1890's, unless they were really poor, respectable girls did not work outside the home. In the cities today it is very common for them to do so. Mothers too who do not work outside the home in ordinary times are glad to help out the family pocketbook during business depressions. Many work for other reasons. Those mothers who work during the day and are busy with household duties during the evening find it impossible to give much time or attention to the rearing of children. One woman said: "I would like to play with the children more than I do, but I'm too tired to do it even when I have the time."

Increasingly, the children in the cities are drawn away from the home; those of high-school age spend much of their time in school athletics, dramatics, committee meetings, in the Y.M.C.A.

¹ Edgar Schmiedeler, *The Industrial Revolution and the Home*, p. 23. The Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., 1927.

or the Y.W.C.A., the Boy Scouts or the Girls' Reserves, at the "movies" or at parties and dances. Older youth too more often finds its recreation outside the family. In the cities young men's wages are sometimes as large as those of their fathers. When this is true they become independent of the family purse at an early age and tend to spend their time among their own friends.

Often members of city families today see one another only during hurried meals. Most of them, unlike the rural and town families, are too far away from the home to take the noon meal together.

Furthermore, even in those city families in which the mothers do not work outside of the home there is much less family life than there was in 1890. Clubs and the great variety of social activities which the great cities afford for old and young tend to take the whole family away from the home. The cramped city apartments too have much to do with this change. On the farms and in the houses in the small towns, friends may be more easily entertained in the home. In the great apartment houses of the cities, however, where 100 or more families are lodged, there is danger of disturbing the neighbors by laughter, singing, or dancing. To avoid this, more entertainment goes on outside the home—at the clubhouse, at the theaters, or at the "movies." So many more forms of entertainment are offered that each member of the family can and frequently does choose the one which appeals particularly to him but not to others in the family.

Thus the gap is widening between members of families, particularly members of city families. Aside from mealtimes, many families in the cities spend less than an hour a day together. Work interests and play interests are pushing the members apart.

These, then, are some of the important changes that our changing civilization has brought in 40 years to the American family. What are the good things the Industrial Revolution has brought to the home? What are the undesirable things? What do you think the next 40 years may bring?

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

- ANDERSON, NELS, and LINDEMAN, EDUARD C. *Urban Sociology*. F. S. Crofts & Co., New York. Chapter XVI discusses the family in the modern city.
- EARLE, ALICE M. *Home Life in Colonial Days*. The Macmillan Company, New York. An interesting account.
- HILL, HOWARD C. *Community Civics*. Ginn and Company, Boston. Chapter II, "The Family and the Home."
- HILL, HOWARD C. *Readings in Community Life*. Ginn and Company, Boston. See Chapter II.
- LYND, ROBERT S. and HELEN M. *Middletown*. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York. See Chapter IX, "The Houses in which Middletown Lives"; Chapter X, "Marriage"; Chapter XI, "Child-Rearing"; Chapter XII, "Food, Clothing, and Housework."
- RICH, MARGARET E. (Editor). *Family Life To-day*. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. The effect of changing institutions, fashions, amusements, and inventions on the family of today.
- SLOSSON, PRESTON WILLIAM. *The Great Crusade and After, 1914-1928*. The Macmillan Company, New York. Chapter V discusses the changing family, the increasing number of women employed in industry, etc.
- SULLIVAN, MARK. *Our Times* (3 volumes). Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Changes that have taken place in family life — a comparison between 1900 and 1925. See Volume I, Chap. 16.
- Lessons in Community and National Life*. Leaflets of the United States Bureau of Education, Washington, D. C. Series A-15, "Woman as the Family Purchaser"; Series B-28, "Women in Industry"; Series C-20, "The Family and Social Control."
- "Must we scrap the Family?" *Harper's Magazine*, July, 1930, pp. 185 ff.
- "People who live in Hotels," *The Survey*, May 15, 1928, pp. 225-227. The life of families who live in hotels.
- The Survey Graphic* for December, 1927, contains several interesting articles on the changes that have taken place in family life.

CHAPTER VII

THE AMERICAN AND HIS ORGANIZATIONS

Mr. Elkins has been reading his evening newspaper in the living room. Suddenly his eye lights upon an item. Getting up, he drops the paper and quickly puts on his hat and coat.

"Mary," he calls to his wife in another room, "Local 27 is having a special meeting this evening. I must go. I'll be back early."

In another home a woman is talking over the telephone. As she begins to hang up the receiver, she suddenly remembers something and adds hastily: "Don't forget, Jane, the Byron Club meets at Ethel's tomorrow afternoon at three."

Two men alight from a street car. One goes east, the other west. "Good-by, Jim." "'By, Bill; see you at Rotary Saturday noon."

Three people walk up the path to a small-town church together — an old man, a young man, and a young woman. As they near the church door the older man says: "No, Elizabeth, I'm too old to join the choir now. I wouldn't be out tonight if it wasn't for the meeting of the Men's Club."

After a pause the younger man adds rather regretfully, "I'm afraid I can't come either, Betty. The Scouts always meet on the same night that you have choir rehearsal, and I am Scout-master now."

Conversations like these are taking place constantly on the streets, in homes, offices, and stores, on street cars, elevated railways, or subways. All of them illustrate the same thing; namely, that Americans are organizers. Men and women, boys and girls — all belong to organizations. As a single example, consider the secret societies.

"The Thirty Million"

Lodge night! In a thousand villages, towns, and cities, nearly every night in the week, millions of Americans are giving the password, meeting together in secret mystery, initiating new members, swearing newcomers to loyalty to the order, installing officers, hearing reports, talking about current national events, gossiping about the latest affairs in the community, serving refreshments, playing cards, giving plays, and holding dances.



FIG. 59

First Shipwrecked Man: We're safe now, George, so let's organize first thing. You be president and I'll be secretary-treasurer.

What shall we call the lodge?

Second Shipwrecked Man: Fine idea. I'm a plumber and you're a steamfitter. Let's call it the Sandy Isle Local of the American Federation of Mechanics.

In 1928 there were 800 of these secret fraternal organizations in the United States with branches, "chapters," and "locals." There are 60,000,000 grown-ups in America; 30,000,000 of these are members. The Freemasons alone have a membership of about 3,000,000. In a New Jersey community of 1800 inhabitants there are seventeen secret fraternal societies.

"The World's Greatest Joiners"

Someone has said that if two Americans should find themselves on a desert island

the first thing they would do would be to "organize." They might start the Desert Island Local of the Grand Lodge of the Loyal Americans or the Sandy Isle Local of the American Federation of Mechanics or the Waterless Hole Golf Club or something else. They would find something in which both of them were interested or from which they could derive a benefit, and organize to make it "bigger and better."

Whether or not this is exactly true, it is certain that in the United States are found more organizations and more people who belong to organizations than in any other country of the world. If one is interested in Jersey cows or in studying coins, there are organizations which one may join. If one is interested in getting more business or in making better goods, in learning about the "savages" of Africa or in converting them to Christianity, in improving the conditions of the poor, in dancing or debating, in abolishing war or in reducing the size of battleships — there are organizations to help one. No matter what one's interest is, he will find that other people interested in the same thing have formed an organization in which they may talk together or work together.

We are, indeed, a nation of "joiners." At least half the grown-ups have joined an organization of some kind, and many people belong to several organizations.

THE ASTONISHING GROWTH OF ORGANIZATIONS

In your previous studies you learned how industry and business became organized. As we said in *A History of American Government and Culture*, sports became organized, the theater and all the "lively arts" became organized, and education became organized. You have also learned that even in the early 1800's there were important social organizations in the United States, such as the Symposium Club, the Fanny Wright societies, the antislavery leagues, the Ku-Klux Klan, and others. By 1890 many kinds of organizations had grown up, and there were hundreds of thousands of members in them.

The really amazing growth, however, has taken place since that time. For example, in 1890 there were 92 social organizations in one typical Middle Western city. Thirty-four years later there were 458 definitely recognized ones and 100 more of a miscellaneous nature. From 1890 to 1924 the city population multiplied three and a half times. But the social organizations of the community (see Figure 61) grew much faster during the same period. To be sure, the trade unions and the literary, artistic, and musical clubs grew less quickly than did the popula-

tion, but the social clubs and the professional and civic-business clubs grew two or three times as fast.

The growth in the organizations in this Middle Western city has been duplicated in almost every community of the United



FIG. 60. The same street in a small town, 1890 and today. Count the signs of the various organizations in both pictures. What conclusions do you draw?

States. Charitable and "uplift" organizations have increased perhaps even more rapidly than any others. In Chicago today there are 750 organizations whose purpose is to improve society or to help other people through charity. In New York there are 1200 such societies. As one authority said of these societies: "No human interest seemed overlooked; knowledge, health, welfare, peace, and comfort were to be promoted."

IN 1890 WHAT TOOK THE PLACE OF ORGANIZATIONS IN AMERICAN LIFE?

In 1890 our grandfathers and grandmothers had no Rotary clubs, no Lions clubs, no American Legion, no Gold Star Mothers, and few country clubs. How did they spend their leisure time?

You already know something of social life in 1890. There was much informal visiting in the neighborhood and in the community. People "dropped in" on others to chat. Young people

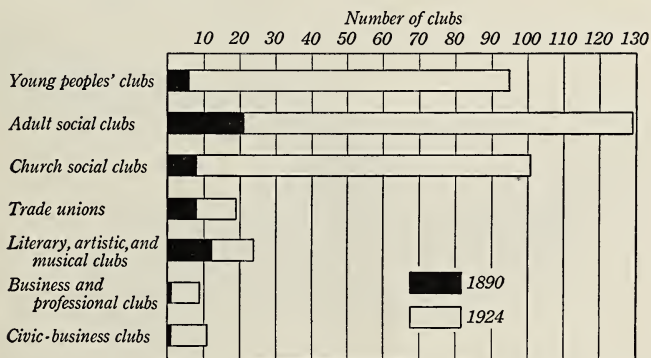


FIG. 61. Social organizations in typical Middle Western city, 1890-1924. The black bars show the number of organizations in 1890; the white bars, the number in 1924.¹

met more frequently in homes for parties, taffy pulls, games, or just to sing. At the churches there were strawberry festivals, annual fairs, Christmas festivals, and other entertainments at which everyone from the babies to the grandparents was present. Some churches gave euchre or whist parties, and everybody came who knew how to play, even a little. Scores and town news were eagerly discussed over the ice cream and cake which followed. Church picnics too attracted people of all ages. Sometimes picknickers met at a beautiful spot near town and ate lunch and amused themselves according to their ages.

There were a few organizations—lodges such as the Royal Arcanum, the Knights of Columbus, and the Freemasons—

¹ Adapted from Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd's *Middletown* (Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1929), Table XVIII.

which had branches in most towns and cities. Each good-sized community had its board of trade. Many had study clubs of one sort or another — Shakespeare clubs, Browning clubs, Whistler clubs, reading clubs, McDowell clubs, Beethoven clubs. The churches had men's clubs, women's guilds, and missionary societies. There were regular meetings, and some had regular entertainments such as plays, dances, "box suppers," and tableaux.



FIG. 62. During the 1890's winter picnics of church or school sometimes took the form of sleigh rides. (Photograph by Clifton Johnson)

These entertainments were important in the life of the community and were eagerly anticipated. For the most part people spent their time in their homes working, talking, occasionally reading. When they went out, instead of racing through the countryside on hot summer evenings in an automobile, people "cooled off" behind the jog-trotting old mare. In the evenings and on Saturday and Sunday afternoons, the avenues of the cities and towns and the roads and fields of the country places were filled with people strolling in pairs or groups.

Thus we see that, although organizations existed in 1890, few people belonged to them and they occupied a small proportion of the people's leisure time.

Today the entire population is organized

Today, however, the interests of the entire population have become organized. Take at random, for example, merely a few hundreds of organizations listed in a recent World Almanac.¹ We quote only ten names from the 95 organizations listed under the "C's" alone!

Commercial Law League of America
 National League of Commission Merchants of the United States
 Companions of the Forest of America
 American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers
 United Confederate Veterans
 National Council of Congregational Churches
 National Consumers' League
 Military Order of the Cootie
 American Cotton Association
 Crop Protection Institute

It is difficult to sum up adequately the multitude of organizations. In our limited space we can merely classify them and illustrate each type briefly. They divide themselves into twelve principal types:

1. *Political organizations.* There are organizations for every political idea and taste. For example:

| | |
|------------------|--------------------------|
| Republican clubs | Prohibitionist clubs |
| Democratic clubs | Antiprohibitionist clubs |
| Socialist clubs | Civil Liberties unions |
| Single Tax clubs | Etc. |

2. *Fraternal organizations.* There are hundreds of secret societies of which these are a few:

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Freemasons | Moose |
| Knights of Columbus | Stags |
| Odd Fellows | Buffaloes |
| Ancient and Illustrious Order of the Knights of Malta | Deer |
| Supreme Tribe of Ben Hur | Reindeer |
| Order of Ancient Oaks | Geese |
| | Serpents |

¹ See any recent World Almanac for a representative list.

In colleges and schools there are hundreds of Greek-letter fraternities and sororities :

| | |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| Phi Delta Theta | Delta Gamma |
| Pi Beta Phi | Sigma Alpha Epsilon |
| Delta Kappa Epsilon | Etc. |

3. *Industrial and business organizations.* Mine workers, printers, builders, cleaners and dyers, chauffeurs, railroad employees, clothing workers, electricians, plumbers, dock workers — practically every industry and trade of America, women's as well as men's, is represented by a labor union. Every field of business also has its national and local organizations — the bankers, the druggists, the butchers, the grocers, the dry-goods merchants, and others. In addition, there are other organizations of business men, such as the chambers of commerce or the boards of trade.

4. *Professional organizations.* The professions too have their organizations :

| | | |
|-----------|--------------------|------------|
| doctors | engineers | poets |
| lawyers | artists | historians |
| teachers | chemists | actors |
| ministers | writers of fiction | musicians |

Every profession is represented. There are "locals," "nationals," even "internationals."

5. *Religious organizations.* There are nearly 200 church denominations in the United States. Within each one are many organizations, such as young people's societies, missionary societies, women's guilds, Epworth leagues.

6. *Civic clubs.* Almost every town has its civic clubs. They range from those which work for cleaner parks or better milk for the community to the Boosters' clubs for "bigger and better Huddletown" and the service clubs, such as the Rotary clubs, which have spread through the United States and into 44 countries of the world. The Rotary clubs, for example, bring together the business and professional men of every level — doctors, lawyers, grocers, haberdashers, bankers, superintendents of schools, ministers — all the business and professional classes of the community regardless of wealth. "Service" is their slogan,— service

to the community,— although they do combine pleasure with civic betterment.

7. *Memorial and patriotic organizations.* Although the United States is young, it has a host of memorial and patriotic organizations. There are the Daughters (and the Sons) of the American Revolution, the Grand Army of the Republic, the United Confederate Veterans, the American Legion, the Gold Star Mothers, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and a great number of local memorial associations which keep alive the traditions of communities, schools, colleges, and other institutions. Closely allied with these are the patriotic societies, such as :

National Security League
American Defense Society
Better America Federation
Sentinels of the Republic
Allied Patriotic Society

American Citizenship Foundation
Military Intelligence Association
National Patriotic Council
United States Flag Association
Key Men of America

8. *Philanthropic and reform associations.* In every town and city charity is dispensed through an organization of some kind. The mentally feeble, the old, the disabled, the ill, the blind, the deaf, the dumb, the imprisoned, are all represented by organizations which work for their good. Reform associations have been established to prevent cruelty to children and to animals, to stop the use of tobacco, or to carry on the work of the Eighteenth Amendment. For every menace to public welfare — either real or imagined — there is an association which has been established to try to remove it.

9. *Immigrant organizations.* Our millions of foreign-born have also adopted the American custom of organization. The Germans have their German-American Society; the Irish, their Irish-American Association; the Sicilians, their Unione Siciliana, and so on.

10. *Athletic organizations.* With the growth of amateur sports in the United States all sorts of athletic organizations have sprung up. There are, to name only a few types, golf and baseball clubs, hockey clubs, football and basket-ball clubs, cricket and bowling clubs, boxing and wrestling clubs, hunting clubs, fishing clubs, hiking clubs, archery clubs, and country clubs.

11. *Women's organizations.* In addition to belonging to many of the types already mentioned, women have their own organizations, such as the following:

The Women's Clubs (in almost every town and city)
 The League of Women Voters
 National Federation of Business and Professional Women

12. *Organizations for young people.* Nor are the younger members of society neglected. They too have such leagues and associations as the following:

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Boy Scouts of America | Young Women's Christian Association |
| Campfire Girls | tion |
| Woodcraft League of America | Young Men's Hebrew Association |
| Pioneer Youth of America | Young Women's Hebrew Association |
| Young Men's Christian Association | Etc. |

In churches and schools there are, for example,

| | |
|------------------------|----------------------------|
| Athletic organizations | Social-science clubs |
| Literary societies | Secret fraternities |
| Bird clubs | Secret sororities |
| Science clubs | Orchestras, choruses, etc. |

The number of young people's organizations in America could scarcely be estimated.

We have named twelve types of organizations which probably comprise the chief ones in America. No doubt you are beginning to ask: Why do people join organizations? What do people do in them? What do they contribute to the lives of individuals and to the culture of America? Let us consider some of these questions.

WHY DO PEOPLE JOIN ORGANIZATIONS?

How does it happen that one medium-sized city can have 500 organizations? That a town of 1800 can support seventeen secret societies? There are many reasons, of course, but most of them can be traced to the needs and the desires of human beings. What are these needs? What are these wishes which lead people to come together in groups?

First, the desire to be with other people. Most human beings are social; we dislike being alone for long. From the time we are

little children we are attracted toward other human beings. If we live in the country, we go into town sometimes merely to exchange news, to learn what is happening to relatives and friends. There are a few people, to be sure, who live off by themselves, seeing others only a few times in a year, but they are exceptions.

Therefore an invitation to join a club, a lodge, or other kind of organization which has meetings is accepted in part because of the deep desire to be with other people. People say, for example, "I joined the Knights of Pythias because I wanted the social life I found in their clubrooms and meetings." If there is a choice to be made, people generally prefer to be with those who think as they think or who are interested in the same things in which they themselves are interested.

Second, the desire for variety. Another reason why people join organizations is to vary the monotony of their daily lives. Women join various clubs because sometimes these furnish almost the only social life in a community. One woman explained her joining the College Women's Club by saying, "I'd stagnate here if I didn't. We study various themes during a season and forget the littleness of our lives."

New faces seen, new ideas exchanged, help Mrs. John Smith to forget for a little while that tomorrow and the next day she must buy bread and onions and meat, make beds, mend and wash the clothes. If she belongs to a secret organization, she may even forget for a while that she is Mrs. Smith when she wears a Greek robe at the meeting. Mr. Smith too forgets his job and his business worries while he, like his wife, "dresses up," whispers passwords, and becomes a new person. If they are officers they feel that they must live up to their new title — President, Grand Master, or Illustrious Potentate.

Regularly, once a week, from one end of the broad country to the other, the Knights of Pythias meet to act out the fable of Damon and his faithful friend, Pythias; the Yeomen to play Ivanhoe, the Odd Fellows to offer some new Isaac in sacrifice for his brother's sins. Tell draws his bow once more, Cæsar spurns his crown; in a new world Lancelot and Miles Standish, Charlemagne and Barbara Frietchie, Hector and Pocahontas live again.¹

¹ Adapted from Charles Merz's *Great American Bandwagon* (The John Day Company, New York, 1928), pp. 35-36.

Thus some people join organizations to put variety into lives that might otherwise be unbearably dull.

Third, the desire to feel secure. From earliest infancy, we are taught to protect our health, our good name, our very lives. As we grow older we try to protect our incomes, our families, our ideals, our religious faiths, our community, and our country from a variety of things which might harm them.

Turn back through the foregoing list of kinds of organizations and ask yourself to what extent each kind exists because of this need for security. Do business and labor organizations help, for example, to give a feeling of security? They do, indeed, for by banding together men can protect their interests, whether it is their products or their labor which they sell.

Do the immigrant organizations satisfy the need to feel secure? The political organizations? The civic leagues? Many of these organizations help to make people feel secure in other ways, too. They carry insurance against ill health, accidents, and loss of life.

One organization, "a great big, broad-minded, nonsectarian, fraternal, sociable, and charitable secret society" guarantees the following benefits to all who join: sickness and death benefits, accident benefits, disability benefits, even free medical service for a \$6 charter fee and 75 cents a month. If you felt that a regular payment of, let us say, 75 cents a month would give you these benefits, should you be likely to join, too?

Fourth, the desire for social approval. How frequently we hear the phrase "What will the neighbors think!" The desire to be approved by our relatives, our neighbors, and by the people of our community plays an important part in the growth of organizations.

The family, the neighborhood, and the community have set up certain standards which we must live up to, if we wish social approval. For example, we must be honest, industrious, and clean. We know that if we are dishonest or lazy or dirty we are likely to have few friends in the community. All these things we learn at a very early age. Similarly the grown-ups know that they must keep the house looking neat and clean, the hedges and lawns well trimmed, the automobile well painted to secure the

approval of the neighbors. The community has set the standards, and people will approve those who live up to them.

Many organizations which are approved by the community increase their membership because of this desire for social approval. People frequently join patriotic societies, charity societies, secret lodges, and other organizations because "It's the thing to do," because "everybody" belongs. The following conversation between two women in a tea room illustrates this desire. One of the women was urging the other to allow her to propose her name for membership in a certain club.

"But I really don't wish to join," said the one. "I am not interested and I haven't the time."

"Oh, you don't need to attend, but you must join. Everyone who is anyone belongs," said the other.

Is this a good reason, do you think, for belonging to an organization?

Fifth, the desire to feel less inferior. Do you recall in Chapter III how the people of a neighborhood look down on some persons and up to others? How they disapprove of the people in the "lower" neighborhood and how they approve and imitate those in the "upper" neighborhood? Many people grow up with the idea that they are inferior to other people who appear brighter than they or who earn more money or who have a larger and better house or automobile, wear better clothes, seem to have "nicer" friends — in short, who seem to have a better way of living than they. Hence many of them join organizations in the attempt to overcome this feeling of inferiority. Others join because they wish to feel equal to the "best" people. Do you think this is a good reason for joining organizations?

One investigator said that the women's clubs and the church organizations have a much larger membership since they began the practice of meeting in the private homes. One woman was overheard remarking to her friend: "I'd join anything and pay any dues to get to step inside Mrs. R's house."

Some organizations are difficult to enter because they require certain attainments in art or music or a larger amount of knowledge than most people possess. Many people try, sometimes for years, to belong to such organizations, since membership

will make them feel that they are superior. Here is a case from one community: A new college teacher was informed upon her arrival in the town, "The Little Theater in our town is a new organization. If you belong to it you are established socially as well as culturally."

Some organizations are exclusive; that is, they will take only a certain number of members from a certain group. Hence there is often a long waiting list of people who wish to join. When they succeed many will feel that they have joined the ranks of the "best" people.

Sixth, the desire to help others. Many people who are more fortunate than others or who see about them injustice or who have been the victims of it themselves join organizations to help others. The idea of service through organizations has grown tremendously since 1890, as people have begun to recognize the interdependence of modern life. As a result, charity and reform organizations have grown and spread. People desire to help those who are in ill luck, who are unemployed or sick or disabled or unjustly imprisoned or working under unhealthful conditions. When the communities of the United States were smaller, much of this help was given by neighbors and friends, but today each person of the community cannot know all the people who need help of one kind or another. Many people, therefore, join and support organizations which search out those who are in need of help.

These are but a few of the reasons why people join organizations, but they illustrate two important facts: First, they show why so many lodges, clubs, societies, and associations flourish all over the United States today. Second, they teach us what some of the most important human desires are. We shall meet these desires again and again in our high-school studies.

WHAT GOES ON IN THE MEETINGS OF ORGANIZATIONS?

What do people do in their fraternal societies, labor unions, service clubs, improvement associations, and other organizations? They do a great variety of things, of course, but a few things are done in almost all of them.

Formal ritual, speeches, lectures, and discussion

Before the days of the automobile, the radio, the "movies," and jazz, much of the leisure time of Americans was spent in conversation. As much as anything else it was the thing which drew men together in the coffeehouse and in the tavern. It whiled away lonely hours in frontier cabins. It relieved the



FIG. 63. The thirty-ninth supreme convention of Knights of Columbus, one of the great fraternal orders

monotony of endless days of slow travel. But today, with the hurry and rush of automobiles and quick schedules, there is less leisurely visiting and less thoughtful conversation.

But in America's organizations there still is a place for "talk." A president or other presiding officer directs the meeting. He calls it to order and comments on the reports of the secretary and treasurer and various committees, which have been read aloud and which are often very long. There is sometimes a ritual, in which memorized words are repeated by the members and gestures are made in unison. If it is initiation night, when new people are made members of the organization, there is more ritual. Perhaps new officers are installed, and then there is more ritual.

Then there are speeches! Speeches were popular in 1890. We are told that in "Middletown" "in 1890 it was not necessary to announce the subject 'of a lecture' to draw a crowd." For example, the First Methodist Church was sure to be filled when the announcement appeared in the local newspaper that "Rev. C. R. Bacon of W—— will deliver a free lecture Wednesday night. . . .

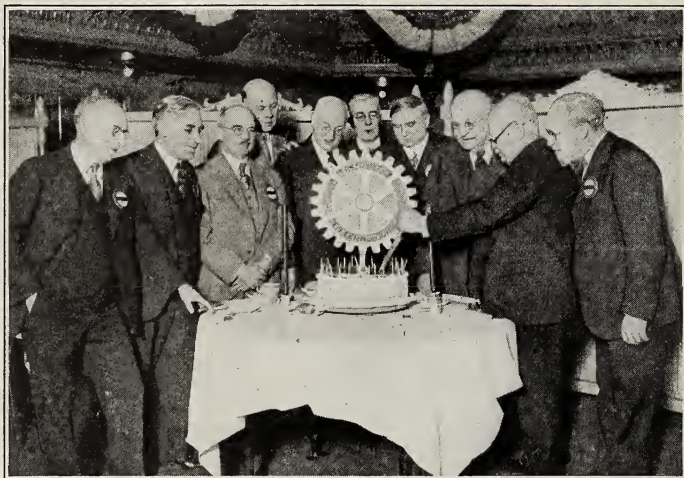


FIG. 64. The Rotary Club of Chicago celebrates its twenty-fifth birthday. What do you suppose the members did at this meeting?

Everybody invited." Speeches were apt to be very long. For example, "A large and cultured audience crowded the opera house to hear 'a polished gentleman of pleasant presence and happy manner' . . . deliver a two-hour lecture on 'nick-names of prominent Americans.'" ¹

Speeches are shorter today, but they are still popular. A leading citizen in one of our representative towns remarked recently: "No matter what it's about, there's nothing I like better than a real good speech." And this leading citizen's liking for speeches seems to be shared by a great number of the American people.

In the meetings of the service clubs such as Rotary, Lions,

¹ Adapted from Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd's *Middletown* (Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1929), p. 228.

Kiwanis, a great variety of things goes on — lunching and dining together, friendly banter and gossip, and singing. An atmosphere of good fellowship is stimulated. Guests brought by members are introduced to the club. For example, Frank Johnson rises at the request of the leader and says, "I want to introduce today my guest and a prominent club man from Greeley, Tom Jackson."

With great enthusiasm the members around the table shout, "Hello, Tom." When luncheon is over, the club listens to a speech given by a local minister, a leading lawyer, an educator from the college, or a prominent person in town on some professional mission.

In other business and professional organizations of various kinds the serious work consists of listening to lectures and engaging in discussion. The topics considered cover a vast range of interests, such as technical reports on new discoveries in the professions or the sciences, debates on controversial issues in politics or religion, dramatic accounts of explorers, accounts

of travels in distant lands, discussion of current problems in community and national life, international relations, and the like.

The more informal social organizations of the smaller communities reveal the same interest in lectures. In the neighborhood card clubs, the sewing clubs, discussion clubs, art clubs, music clubs, and the like, there is much listening to "papers" by members or by a specially engaged lecturer. The subjects cover a great range of topics. In 1890 a study club frequently devoted

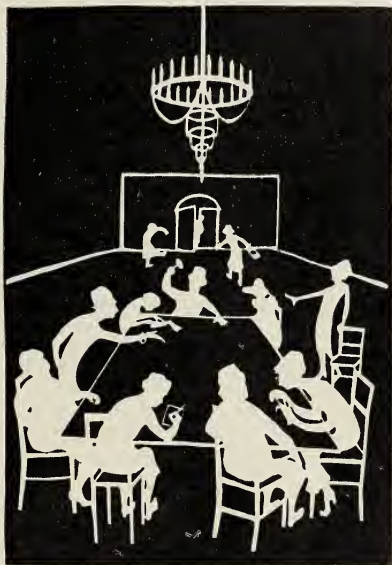


FIG. 65. One artist's idea of what goes on when discussions take place in the clubs. (From a scissored picture by Martha B. Bruère in *Survey Graphic*)

most of its programs in one year to the study of the Bible. But other topics were often interspersed, as the following list shows: "Abraham," "The Egyptian Women," "Moses," "Roman Women," "Quo Vadis," "The Tabernacle," "French Women," "Yellowstone National Park," "Queen of Sheba," "The Czarina

of Russia," "Jerusalem," "The Life of Adelina Patti," "Madame Schumann-Heink," "Madame Sembrich," "Herman Melville."

Today, however, a more varied program is provided:

The program of one characteristic federated club took up within one recent year "Prophets of the Bible," "Wonders of the Radio," "What do Colleges for Women in the Orient Accomplish?" and "The Life of Paul." Another club proceeded within one winter from "Recent Religious Movements: Christian Science and New Thought" to "The Dictograph," "Mural Paintings," "The Panama Canal," "The Drama," "Hull-House," and "Dress." The year's work of yet another included meetings on "Waterways," "Animals," "Our Nation," "Socialism," and "The Simple Life." The program of another club offered in an exceptionally long season of twenty-one meetings, five of which were purely social, a program providing study of "the Bible, history, music, art, and literature."¹



FIG. 66. Another artist's idea of a social evening at a club. (From a drawing by Jean Henry in *The Survey*)

Speeches and lectures must, of course, be appropriate to the special interests of the various organizations. Papers read at

¹ Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown*, p. 299. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1929.

meetings of educational societies deal with the problems of the school. Those given before patriotic and memorial organizations concern the problems of American history, national ideals, loyalty to the flag, and kindred topics; those given before philanthropic societies deal with such problems as unemployment, housing conditions in cities, public health, and the changing family.

Thus conversation, exchange of ideas, and listening to lectures or speeches make up the principal part of the programs at the meetings of American organizations. No matter how general or how special and unusual are the interests of Americans today, it is possible to find, in our larger cities at least, organizations of people eager to discuss them.

AS ORGANIZATIONS INCREASE, ATTENDANCE IN MANY DECREASES

We are, indeed, a nation of "joiners." But although we join, we attend very irregularly, so the statistics tell us. While the membership rolls continue to grow, fewer and fewer people come to the meetings.

"We have 500 members," said the grand master of one lodge, "but work as we may, we can't get more than 25 to 50 out to meetings; and they're mostly new members."

A fine educational discussion club in a large city reports the same lack of attendance — 100 members, only 20 in attendance. So from a host of sources comes the report that Americans join but don't attend.

Why do you think there is this decline in interest? Many factors account for it, of course, but most of them can be traced to the great variety of interests that the Industrial Revolution has developed. Listen to typical comments:

"My husband doesn't go to the Red Men's any more; the 'movies' have killed the lodges in this town."

"We have so many acquaintances that we seldom get time to go to the Rebekahs. We generally try to go to the Annual Ball."

"John belongs to so many organizations that he never goes to any of them."

The automobile, radio, and cheap reading matter also contribute to the declining attendance. In the warm seasons from

April to November, many tired workers prefer to ride in the auto in the early evenings. In the cold winter months they listen to the music, lectures, dramatic readings, debates, and the like over the radio. The sensational tabloids and scandal-sheets, the exciting short stories, and the slap-stick humor of newspapers and magazines seem to other millions to provide a much more pleasant evening than the speeches and ritual of a "meeting."

For various reasons, therefore, we continue to join organizations, but most of us do not take active parts in them.

I. HOW, THEN, DO ORGANIZATIONS INFLUENCE AMERICAN CULTURE?

One conclusion can be drawn from the foregoing discussion, namely, that organizations of one kind or another markedly affect American life. As we said, more than half of the grown-ups and a large proportion of the young people belong to them and are influenced by them. Let us summarize, therefore, their contributions to American life.

First, they satisfy many fundamental desires of people: the desire to be with others, the desire for variety in life, to feel secure, to have social approval, to feel less inferior, to help others, to increase one's knowledge. In helping to satisfy these deep-seated desires of people, organizations certainly make an important contribution to the life of the nation.

Second, they bring together men, women, and children who otherwise would find it difficult to meet one another. For example, church organizations bring together people from every neighborhood, occupation, and social level of the community. Rotary clubs and chambers of commerce bind together the business and professional men of the community; labor unions, the workers of various trades. Patriotic and fraternal organizations bring people of varied ancestry and occupations together around a common interest. In this way friendships spring up that might never have been established.

Third, organizations teach many members of the community the need for coöperation, that is, for working with others. Certainly this is an especially important need in our interdependent

civilization. Nowhere is there better opportunity for practice in teamwork than in carrying on the work of organizations. Without teamwork the organization fails. Without teamwork the neighborhood and community life fails. Without teamwork the real ideals of a nation cannot be achieved. Without teamwork war cannot be outlawed and permanent peace achieved. Thus we see the importance of community and national organizations



FIG. 67. Organizations influence American culture in many ways. Some help to provide healthful recreation and to produce healthy bodies

in giving our citizens practice in teamwork. Furthermore, we see the importance of young people's organizations in developing this same habit of coöperation.

Fourth, organizations help definitely to encourage ideals of loyalty, charity, civic pride, and health of body and mind. For many members the ceremonial attention paid to such slogans as "Friendship-Faith-Charity" serves to lift men up and to guide them in a truly religious spirit.

Fifth, organizations work successfully toward many definite ends which would not be achieved were it not for the efforts of their members. Some relieve suffering by providing employment or lending money or guarding people against disease. Others

teach the blind, the deaf, or the lame how to live well in spite of their handicaps. Others try to bring about world peace or to improve neighborhoods. Still others change laws and amend national and state constitutions. Thus the purposes of organizations are almost countless, and many of them are realized. Sometimes the object for which an organization has worked affects



FIG. 68. Sometimes organizations hold parades to celebrate some event such as Lincoln's birthday, Armistice Day, etc.

only a few hundred people; at other times it may affect a whole nation. For example, note the success of the organizations whose object is to abolish intoxicating liquor, in securing the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment, or of those which succeeded in obtaining the suffrage for women, by bringing about the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. By achieving these definite and important ends, organizations are affecting American culture profoundly.

II. BUT NEW PROBLEMS EMERGE AS A RESULT OF THE GROWTH OF ORGANIZATIONS

These, then, are examples of the undoubted contributions that organizations are making to American life. With the marked increase in their number and activity, however, new questions and problems arise for solution. Let us see what some of these are:

1. Are the organizations true discussion clubs? Does a real exchange of ideas take place in them? Are the really important problems of American community and national life discussed in them?

2. Are the organizations promoting the creative, artistic development of the American people?

3. Is the rapid growth of organizations increasing the breakdown of American homes?

4. Does the growth of organizations contribute to the decline of neighborhood spirit?

5. Does the multiplication of organizations increase the restlessness and dissatisfaction of the people, especially in our cities?

6. Does the loyalty to many organizations help to break down the spirit of loyalty to the community?

7. To what extent is public opinion in American communities formed in these organizations? Do the organizations tend to make people think alike and act alike? Is this a good or a bad influence?

These very important questions confront American leaders. In our later studies we must consider them carefully.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

ANDERSON, NELS and LINDEMAN, EDUARD C. *Urban Sociology*. F. S. Crofts & Co., New York. Chapter XIV contains a good discussion of the various kinds of clubs and organizations in a modern city.

LINDEMAN, EDUARD C. *The Community: an Introduction to the Study of Community Leadership and Organization*. Association Press, New York. The theories, principles, and types of community organizations are discussed in Chapters X and XI.

LYND, ROBERT S. and HELEN M. *Middletown*. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York. Chapter XIX, "The Organization of Leisure," describes the various clubs and their activities.

- McVEY, FRANK L. *The Making of a Town*. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. See Chapter IX.
- MERZ, CHARLES. *The Great American Bandwagon*. The John Day Company, New York. Chapter III, "Sweet Land of Secrecy," is an interesting account of the American as a "joiner."
- SMITH, JOHN F. *Our Neighborhood*. The John C. Winston Company, Philadelphia. Chapter VII discusses the organization of boys' and girls' clubs.
- Lessons in Community and National Life*. Leaflets of the United States Bureau of Education, Washington, D.C. Series B-29, "Labor Organizations," pp. 241-248.
- See *The American City* for April, 1919, pp. 349-350; August, 1919, p. 167; November, 1919, pp. 434-436; July, 1920, p. 66; November, 1920, p. 539; February, 1921, pp. 201-202; September, 1921, pp. 241-245; October, 1921, pp. 317-318; November, 1921, p. 366; December, 1921, p. 472; January, 1922, pp. 57-59; March, 1922, pp. 273-275; June, 1922, pp. 599-603. These pages contain discussions of various organizations and the work they do.

UNIT III

THE AMERICAN AND HIS WORK

THE AMERICAN AND HIS WORK

The chief task of this course is to grasp clearly the important problems of our changing culture. In Unit II several of these problems were carefully considered; namely, those brought about by the startling changes in community, neighborhood, and family life. The central theme of Unit II was "Change!" . . . Change in family life . . . Change in neighborhood life . . . Change in social agencies . . . Change in the entire community.

We turn now to study another aspect of our changing culture, that is, the changing job. Conditions of work, like family and neighborhood life, have been seriously changed since 1890 by the New Industrial Revolution. Hence our next task is to discuss "Machines, Men, and their Jobs." That is the theme of Chapter VIII.

Important and difficult problems confront the American people as a result of these changes in industry. Is there no way to solve these problems? Farsighted and humane industrial engineers maintain that there is.

Their plans and experiments will be studied in Chapter IX. Thus we shall hope to grasp clearly the problems of employment which we, as Americans, must confront courageously and intelligently in the future.

CHAPTER VIII

MACHINES, MEN, AND THEIR JOBS

The average man's work plays a great part in his life

It is four o'clock in the morning. After a restless night I awake and look out of my window. A light greets me from a little house far up the hill across the valley. Soon a light appears in another house, then another and another. It is still dark, but the farmers of Hopedale are up and getting ready to start the day's work. There's Dana going toward the barn to hitch up his team. Rogers is already driving his horses through the gate and down the road toward the half-plowed field.

Two hours later the sun is just rising. Through my field glasses I can see thin wisps of smoke rising from the houses of Boonetown farther down the valley. Now the mill workers are up and getting ready for the day. A workman appears on the street and plods in the direction of the mill. Then another and another; still others. Finally near the factory yard I can see a procession of men and women who gradually disappear into the great doors. The work of the day has begun.

Two more hours pass — eight o'clock. If I could look inside the homes of the well-to-do factory-owner and his manager, into those of the business men and lawyers and doctors of the town, I should see similar sights. More people are preparing for the work of the day.

And it is not only they, the farmers and the machine-tenders, the factory-owners and storekeepers, the lawyers and doctors, that have begun their work. They have left behind them others, the home-makers, who are starting the day's work, too.

In every community in America the same thing is happening. Not only today but tomorrow and the day after, six days of every week of the 52 weeks in the year. Is it any wonder that writers who study about human beings write articles entitled "The

Long Arm of the Job" and books entitled *What's on the Worker's Mind?*, *Unemployment*, *Men and Machines*, *The Right Man in the Right Place*, *Vocations and Careers*, and the like? Is it any wonder that three of the ten departments of the national government — the departments of Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor — are directly concerned with work? Is it any wonder that one



FIG. 69. These men are on their way to "the job." For them the job means food, clothing, and shelter

engineer who worked in many industries writes, "If there is one thing I have learned on my labor problems it is that . . . the job is the axis on which the whole world turns for the workingman."¹

THE CHIEF CONCERN OF PEOPLE EVERYWHERE
SEEMS TO BE "HAVING A JOB"

Why do people work so hard? Why is the job "the axis on which the whole world turns for the workingman"? Do people work because they love it? Yes, a few do — very few. But for most people the job means getting a living, "making ends meet."

¹ Whiting Williams, *What's on the Worker's Mind?* p. 39. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1921.

You have already seen that throughout American history the chief concern of the man on the street has been to get a living. When the colonists built their crude habitations on the shores of the Atlantic, their minds were fixed on getting a living. As towns grew and trades and professions developed, artisans, merchants, clerks, lawyers, and doctors — all were chiefly concerned with getting a living. It was the chance of a better living that brought millions of English, Irish, Scotch, Germans, Scandinavians, Slavs, Italians, and Jews to our shores and which drove those westward-bound pioneers ever onward. It was the desire for a better living which brought men in large numbers to the gold mines of California, to the silver and copper mines of the Rockies, to the crowded cities of the industrial zone. Thus under the lure of a better living, the American population increased from a few hundreds to more than 122,000,000 within 300 years. Indeed, getting a living has always been uppermost in most people's minds.

Today the chief problem of our people is that same task of getting a living, and for the vast majority it means struggling hard just to live as they have been accustomed to do — just to keep a job.

Listen to the conversations going on round about you:

"Where are you working, John?"

"Laid off just now. The mill had to close down, waiting for orders. Do you think the Corey Company needs any more men?"



FIG. 70. "Labor's End." Note the title of this picture, and then try to discover what the sculptor meant by it. (From a group by Max Kalish)

"Jack, I know where you can get a job."

"Don't need one just now, thanks; I've got Bill Hogan's. He fell off a scaffold and won't be able to work for a couple of months."

And listen to the conversations of the wives and mothers:

"Yes, Jim's been lucky. I know people who've been out of work since last June and they're almost crazy because of it."

When orders stop coming in and the owners of the mills shut down, the mothers complain:

"I can't figure out why it is that Tim gets work only about half the time. I don't know what we'll do now, but we're trying to keep the children in high school as long as we can."

"We've been saving to build our own home, but Andy has been out of work so long that our money's all gone."

As you can well understand, security lies in these jobs. Through them come the food, clothing, shelter, and recreation of the family. A better job means greater assurance that the family will have all these things. Loss of a job means that the family will have to go without some of these things. Constantly, therefore, workers are thinking and talking, hoping and worrying about their jobs. For what are they hoping? About what are they worrying?

1. The constant hope for a better job

Every worker who is fair to himself and his family asks himself: "What's ahead for the future?" Regularity of employment is one of his hopes; that is, merely keeping a job. The wife of a carpenter only 24 years of age said: "Tim learned his trade when he was seventeen; he made as much money when he was nineteen as his father ever did at house carpentry. Not much advancement ahead for him unless he becomes a boss. About all we hope for is steady employment."¹

For many people, however, there is the constant hope for

¹ Many illustrations can be found in Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd's *Middletown* of the part which the job plays in the life of the average worker.

promotion to a better job, more pay, more responsibility, and better social position. It is because of this hope, this optimism, that workers who are employed scan so frequently the "want ads" of newspapers and magazines. Advertisements like that in figure 71 appear every week in the magazines and are read all over the country. Through these advertisements thousands of workers are enrolled in the courses of correspondence schools, adult evening schools, extension courses, and summer sessions of colleges and universities, and hope thus to find better jobs.

Education, therefore, is regarded as one of the surest ways of advancement to a better job and a higher standard of living.

But what are the chances for promotion among manual workers? What is ahead for the future? Of course, the opportunities vary greatly.

In some kinds of work the hopes of the worker may all be realized; in others there is little chance for promotion. In a survey that was made of the metal trades in Cleveland several years ago, it was found that only 2 men in 100 had a real chance for promotion. Promotion there meant better wages, a position as a foreman or "boss." The expert who studied the problem concluded that carpenters, tinsmiths, electricians, plumbers, and others in various trades who have been unable to save



"It's the Biggest Raise You Ever Had"

"Oh, Tom! You don't know how proud it makes me.

"Now we can put a little money aside each week and buy some of the things we need so badly.

"And to think that only a few months ago you were worried for fear you would lose your position!

"Remember how you came home that night and said you were tired of being a failure? Remember how you determined to get out of the rut by taking up a course with the correspondence school?

"I knew it would help you and the firm would soon notice the difference in your work. But I didn't think you would get such a big raise so soon!"

FIG. 71. This advertisement helps you to understand why working people enroll for correspondence courses

enough to establish themselves in their own businesses have little hope for anything besides keeping their jobs.

Hope for a more secure job, a better job, is, therefore, one of the things which is on the worker's mind.

2. Worry about accidents and ill health

But people worry about their jobs as well as hope for better ones. Indeed, it appears that the two things people do most of

the time are worry and hope. There is, for example, constant dread in some kinds of work of being laid off because of injury. The carpenter fears cutting his hands, the machine-operator dreads the loss of fingers, hands, or arms. The electrical workers who use powerful welding instruments worry about their eyesight. Workers with cement and other such materials worry about their lungs.



FIG. 72. High above the cities, men work on hazardous jobs like this. Have they cause for worry?
(Photograph by Hine)

In some occupations which are particularly fatiguing the life of the worker is estimated at not more than ten years; in others, about twenty years. In most, however, provided the worker is unusually careful, he can count on reasonably good health until the age of retirement, which is 60 or 65 years.

In one investigation of accidents by a state industrial board, it was estimated that one fifth of the workers were compelled to

stop work for a time each year because of accidents. Of these about half lost about a week's wages, and about one fourth lost a month's wages. But it is not only the loss of wages that worries the workman. It is the cost of being ill, of being "laid up," which worries him, too.

In some cases, workers are protected against the loss of money due to accidents. Federal laws protect the railroad worker and the seaman from this loss, and in many states workmen's-compensation laws have been passed. But the loss of an arm or a leg may still prevent the worker from going back to his job and unfit him for most other kinds of work.

We shall learn in Chapter IX of the great improvements that have been made in industry in the past 40 years which have cut down accidents and the loss of wages due to them. However, all these improvements do not prevent accidents entirely or relieve people of worry over possible ill health and loss of wages. Pneumonia, heart disease, and other illnesses which any one of us can contract still cause the worker to feel insecure about his living.

3. Worry about the "old-age dead-line"

Before 1890 artisans and mechanics, clerks, and workers in most occupations expected to continue work until they were 60, 65, or 70 years of age. Today, however, the "old-age dead-line" in the skilled trades is closer to 50 than to 65; indeed, it might better be called the *middle-age* dead-line.

In one investigation of the machine industries it was found that nearly half of the workers were under 25 years of age and only one tenth were over 45. In another plant three quarters of the men were under 45. The superintendent said: "We cannot use men over 55 on the skilled jobs. Of course we try to find unskilled jobs which some of them can do around the mill."

Why has the dead-line dropped? Again we can answer, because of the New Industrial Revolution, which is changing ways of working and living. Employers are finding that after a man reaches the age of 40 or 45 he begins to slow down in his movements. He can no longer keep up with the speed of the machines or of the young men working with him. He may be given another

job about the factory where his experience rather than his quickness of movement counts, but often this job will pay less money.

Hope and worry, hope and worry. In every town and city, on any day of the year, in prosperity or hard times, hope and



FIG. 73. The man is saying to his wife: "There's dozens of jobs if only I was young and inexperienced." What does he mean? (Press Publishing Company, New York *World*)

worry will be found on the mind of the worker. He thinks of his job, he talks of his job. He plans ways to keep his old one, he plans ways to get a new one. "The job's the thing."

PERIODS OF PROSPERITY AND OF HARD TIMES SUC- CEED EACH OTHER

Do you know what is meant by the sayings "The country is prosperous" and "These are hard times"? Let us try to understand these sayings, for they are

very important. Read the two following descriptions. When you have done so, ask yourself whether we are living today in a period of prosperity or in one of hard times.

Factories are running full blast. Railroads and ships are loaded to capacity with freight and passengers. Stores are full of shoppers buying, buying, buying. Banks accumulate savings. People paint and repair their houses and build new ones; automobiles are turned in for new ones; theaters and "movie" houses are filled every night; people take vacations, buy books and radios. We hear little about unemployment. . . . It is a period of prosperity.

Factories are shut down or running part-time. Railroad cars and ships leave stations or docks half full. Stores are almost empty of shoppers. Theaters are empty; restaurants and hotels

have fewer patrons. Long lines stand in front of the paying teller's window at the banks. Many beggars and bread lines are on the streets. Organizations are sending out letters asking for help for the millions of workers facing starvation. It is a period of hard times, of business depression.

In about 100 years of national history the American people have lived through five cycles, that is, five alternating periods of prosperity and hard times.

1. The first cycle came between 1825 and 1840, when the Industrial Revolution was just getting started in the United States. Recall that it was a period of much building of roads, railroads, and canals. Tens of thousands of people were settling the new West. Factories were springing up, land companies were growing rapidly, wild-cat banking schemes were being started. It was a period of great prosperity.

Then came the events during the "reign" of President Andrew Jackson and the panic of 1837. Banks failed, people lost their fortunes, factories closed, every business slumped, and millions faced starvation. This, then, was the first cycle of prosperity and hard times. Remember, first there was prosperity, then hard times.

2. The second cycle came in the years between the gold rush in 1849 and the outbreak of the Civil War. Recall these years as another period of great building. The last lap of the westward movement — that across the Western mountains — was under way. Western lands were being swiftly taken up. Mills, factories, and railroads were being built in the Mississippi Valley. Towns and cities were growing rapidly. Speculation was in the air. Fortunes were being made. It was a time of prosperity.

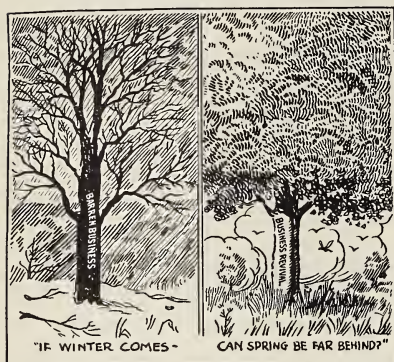
Then came 1857, and in the next few years, a period of hard times. The building boom and speculation had moved too fast. Banks failed all over the country. People lost their earnings and stopped buying things. Factories closed, railroad schedules slowed down. Millions were out of work. It was a period of hard times again.

3. The third cycle came in the later 1870's with the swift development of the great industrial expansion after the period of reconstruction in the South. There was more land settlement,

this time on the prairies; more building of transcontinental railroads, more speculation in banks, in stocks and bonds. For practically fifteen years the country was prosperous.

Then came the smash of 1893, with more bank failures, factories closing again, fortunes and savings being wiped out, and millions out of work. It was another period of hard times.

4. Business gradually became better and a fourth period of



© New York Evening Journal

FIG. 74. Times of depression and times of prosperity, as one artist sees them.

prosperity began about the time of the discovery of gold in Alaska in 1898. Hundreds of millions of dollars in gold were taken out of the ground in the next few years. Corporations were growing by great strides, machines were being invented at unprecedented speeds, factories expanded, power companies grew, banks multiplied, people had higher wages and bought more goods. It was a period of prosperity.

But again business had developed too fast, speculation had been too great, and in 1907 came another depression. There were more business failures, more banks failed, more factories closed, and millions of people were out of work. Hard times had come again.

5. Slowly conditions became better, and in 1914 came the World War. You know the history of the economic transformation that came at the time, how in addition to raising, training, and equipping a huge army, and sending it overseas, America fed and clothed millions of Europeans and built up a great world trade. She became prosperous as never before in her history. Nearly everybody had a job, saved money, bought more things—in general, had a better standard of living.

These conditions prevailed until 1921. Then, as Europe recovered from the disaster of the war, trade with America declined and a slight depression came. This lasted only for a year, how-

ever, and in 1922 prosperity became greater than ever. But in October, 1929, the fifth great crash came and the fifth severe period of hard times began. The failure of banks, corporations, factories, and the like was probably the worst in our history. The result was that in 1930 and 1931 it was estimated that between 5,000,000 and 8,000,000 men were out of work.

Do you begin to understand now what is meant by "prosperity"? by "hard times" or "a business depression"? Do you



FIG. 75. This cartoon gives you the story of the depression (1929) during the fifth business cycle. (Courtesy of the *Locomotive Engineers' Journal*)

see also that these have seemed to succeed each other every few years in the history of the country?

Must these cycles of prosperity and hard times recur in the future as they have in the past? We cannot answer that question surely even today. For many years students have been studying the problem carefully, trying to discover what factors bring about these conditions and hoping to devise ways of preventing them. As yet little has been accomplished.

But even in times of prosperity millions are out of work

We must not get the impression, however, that it is only in hard times that people are unemployed. Even in years when the country is very prosperous millions of men, women, and children are in distress due to lack of work.

Table XVIII tells the unpleasant story. As you see, 1921 was a year of bad business conditions; hence it is not difficult to understand that there would be many people out of work. But 4,300,000 people seem to be a very large number! Now note the condition from 1923 to 1927, a period of the greatest prosperity America has ever known. In no one of these years were there

less than 1,500,000 workers unemployed. Students of the history of labor tell us that, on a smaller scale, this has been true of practically every year in our national history.

Is this large amount of unemployment partly because
"some folks won't work"?

Many people maintain that "anyone who wants a job can find one." These people complain that "some folks won't work."

TABLE XVIII¹

| ESTIMATED UNEMPLOYED WORKMEN IN THE UNITED STATES, 1920-1929, | |
|---|------------------------|
| 1920 | 1,400,000 |
| 1921 | 4,300,000 |
| 1923 | 1,500,000 |
| 1925 | 1,775,000 |
| 1927 | 2,000,000 |
| 1929 | 3,000,000 to 5,000,000 |
| 1930 | 5,000,000 to 8,000,000 |

Here, for example, are two cases from a recent survey that illustrate their point of view :

"You know mill workers," said my cash grocer. "Now take it over in my neighborhood. They's all mill hands. The factory is closed down half of the

time. This winter earlier than most, on account of the stock market. You know what mill hands is like. They just go home and wait for the factory to open. Now if it had of been me! I'd of went right away and got another kind of work."²

A prosperous business man said :

Don't waste your pity. I tell you there isn't any such thing as being idle for people if they have any gumption. Some people won't work. I'd like to see anybody keep me out of a job. If I had a job and I got turned off, I tell you what I would do. I'd go around and knock on every door until I had landed a job. Some folks are too proud. They're too choosy. Or else they're lazy.²

To what extent do you think this statement that "some folks won't work" explains unemployment? Is it the true explanation for the following cases? There are millions like them.

¹ The statistics for 1920-1927 are based upon facts from *Recent Economic Changes in the United States*—Report of the Committee on Recent Economic Changes of the President's Conference on Unemployment, Herbert Hoover, Chairman; including the report of a special staff of the National Bureau of Economic Research (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1929), p. 879.

² Clinch Calkins, *Some Folks Won't Work*, pp. 7, 8. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1930.

A is a skilled carpenter . . . Two children . . . When unemployed, willing to do anything, clean up yards, housecleaning, etc. . . . Family forced to receive all necessities of life from charity.

B is a carpenter . . . Aged forty . . . Three children . . . Various substitute jobs: electric wiring, making radio cabinets, planting trees, etc. . . . Skillful management . . . Savings used . . . Payments overdue on house . . . Insurance policies sold to pay property taxes . . . Two boarders taken . . . Wife works in factory when she can get a job . . . Housework afterward.

C is a painter and decorator . . . Two children, one married . . . Son aged nineteen, truck driver, unemployed . . . Fine couple, hard working and provident . . . Formerly always able to weather dull seasons with savings . . . Had been able to pay \$2000 down on \$5000 house and had paid off all but \$1700 in monthly installments when unemployment struck them . . . They also owned a Hupmobile . . . Wife has helped by cooking out . . . Took in boarders . . . Car laid up . . . Payments on house and union dues lapsed . . . Insurance carried on by accumulated dividends . . . Enough money borrowed from friends to save house . . . Food cut to \$4 a week for three people.¹

Although there may be a few people in the world who won't work, by far the greater number of the unemployed desperately and unsuccessfully try to find jobs. In a recent survey in Philadelphia it was estimated that approximately one sixth of the entire working population was out of work and they could find no work to do. In addition, 12 per cent of these people had had no jobs for a year. The director of the survey said: "Contrary to the widely held opinion that . . . the unemployed are lazy or indifferent . . . 75 out of every 100 could find no work to do." This survey was made in April, 1929, *in a period of great prosperity!*

HOW UNEMPLOYMENT AFFECTS THE FAMILY

What happens to the family when the job is lost and there is no income? How does the family make ends meet? In a study which was made of 68 families these changes were reported in the ways the families lived:

47 reduced the clothing budget

43 reduced the food budget

¹ Adapted from Clinch Calkins's *Some Folks Won't Work* (Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1930), pp. 42-45.

27 of the wives began to work for pay

14 of 60 families which carried insurance were unable to meet the payments

6 moved to a cheaper home

5 of 20 had their telephones taken out

4 of 35 took a child from high school to help in the family support¹

HOW UNEMPLOYMENT AFFECTS THE WHOLE COUNTRY

Not only the unemployed workers and their families are affected by unemployment, however. When hard times come they affect the whole country, and sometimes even the very well-to-do are brought into straitened circumstances. The explanation for this is to be found in the interdependent character of our industrial civilization. You have already learned how one worker depends upon another, one industry depends upon another, one occupation upon another, one class upon another, even one nation upon another. All are closely bound together.

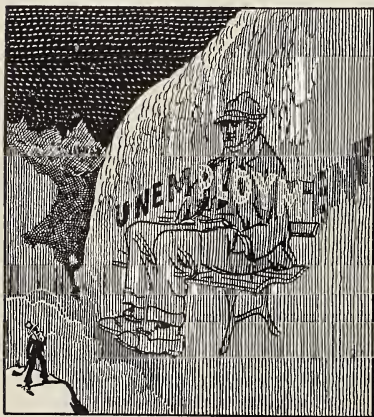


FIG. 76. "A Niagara [of useful energy] going to waste." (From the *Washington Times*)

Therefore what affects one also affects many others. For example, when people are unemployed they buy less from the merchants. As the merchants sell less they order less from the manufacturers. At the same time, they reduce their sales force, throwing

more men out of work. The manufacturers and dealers, in turn, having fewer orders from the merchants, discharge some of their workers. Thus still more men are unemployed. But the effect does not end there. Other people begin to fear that their jobs too will be endangered. Perhaps those who were about to buy houses or

¹ Adapted from Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd's *Middletown* (Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1929), pp. 61-62.

clothes or automobiles decide to wait until later. In this way the building trades, the garment trades, and the automobile industry suffer. Less money is spent upon amusements, and entertainers are thrown out of work.

These are but a few examples of the way unemployment affects the whole country. They could be multiplied many times. The important fact to remember is that once hard times come they affect almost all the people.

Why should there be unemployment and starvation in
the richest country in the world?

Why should there be millions of people out of work? Is it because the country is poor? Does it not have enough natural resources to keep industry going? Does it lack machines with which to produce goods or corporations with which to finance industry?

You know from your previous studies that lack of wealth is not the reason. The United States is now the wealthiest country in the world; it is, indeed, "the rich man of the earth." You know that it is rich in natural resources, that it has many machines, that it has great corporations which finance industry. You know that the national wealth has grown until today it is estimated at approximately \$500,000,000,000. In recent years it has been growing at the rate of approximately \$100,000,000,000 a year.

Why, then, should there be so much unemployment and distress? There are many reasons, but the most important ones can be summed up in one phrase — LACK OF PLANNING. The examples which follow will illustrate this point.



FIG. 77. "City aid" stands at the left. What do the large empty hands tell you? (Press Publishing Company, New York World)

EXAMPLES OF LACK OF PLANNING WHICH CONTRIBUTE
TO UNEMPLOYMENT

The first factor: seasonal slackness

In one city recently, in seven manufacturing plants, only half as many men were at work in December as in June; in another, 1000 are employed in the winter but only 250 in summer. Still another employed 800 men in winter, 200 in the summer.

In many industries there is seasonal slackness during some part of the year. Indeed, there are few industries which can boast an all-year season. Even the demand for soap is seasonal. Carpentry, for example, depends upon the weather. Garment-making depends upon the changing styles of the seasons. Even shoemakers are unable to work as regularly as they might because shoe dealers buy their supplies in the spring and in the fall. The busy seasons for automobiles are winter and spring. The fruit-canning industry is busy immediately after the fruit-harvest season; the vegetable-canning industry, directly after the vegetable-harvest season.

Seasonal slackness cuts seriously into the income of the worker. Consider the carpenters, for example. Those who work in our very largest cities probably receive from \$8 to \$12 a day. If they worked 300 days in a year their annual income would total at least \$2400. The Hoover Commission on Waste in Industry, however, found that the mechanics in the building trades worked on the average only 193 days a year, that is, about two thirds of the time. Instead of \$2400 a year, therefore, a carpenter even in our largest cities can count on not much more than \$1500 a year.

But, though there is a seasonal slackness in work, there is no seasonal slackness in the need of the worker for food, clothing, and shelter.

"You just can't do with odd jobs and a family," says Mrs. Raymond to her neighbor. "You've got to have that pay envelope every week or the children don't eat."¹

Do you see the seriousness of this problem of seasonal slackness? It probably affects 30 or 40 per cent of all the industrial

¹ Helen Hall, "Shall we stick to the American Dole?" *The Survey*, January 1, 1931, p. 389.

workers in our country ; that is, at the least 5,000,000 or 6,000,000 workers are out of a job during some season of the year.

Does seasonal slackness seem to you wasteful of men? Does it show a lack of planning in industry?

A second factor: temporary shutdowns and lay-offs

These occur frequently and in many industries and businesses. Why are factories frequently closed down and men laid off for short periods of time? Sometimes it is lack of coal for the factory, due to inefficient planning for railroad coal cars. Delay in ordering for a particular department may cause a group of workers to be laid off for a week or more. Furthermore, one department may fail to plan well so as to have materials ready for another department. For example, if the sales department fails to secure orders on time, the whole factory is upset. Finally, many plants still shut down for the annual inventory of stock and thus needlessly throw their employees out of work for several days. The report of the Hoover Commission on Waste in Industry showed that many manufacturers shut down their factories to restrict production and thereby keep the prices and profit up to a high level.

Temporary shutdowns and lay-offs, therefore, cause temporary periods of unemployment. Does much of this type of unemployment seem to you to be unnecessary? Does it show a lack of planning?

A third factor: the inefficient handling of men and large labor turnover

Do most workers tend to hold their jobs a long time? The answer is clear for most of the industries of the country — No. In one year a large motor company hired 54,000 new men to do the work of 13,000 jobs. On the average more than four men were hired for every job in one year! (This replacement of workers who leave their jobs or are discharged from them is called labor turnover.) An incident in one factory illustrates the wastefulness of this hiring and firing of men.

Mr. Hartley, the efficiency engineer, is talking to Mr. Lawson, the general manager of a factory, about the method of hiring men. Mr. Hartley looks up from a sheaf of yellow papers which he is holding, and his face is grave.

"I see," he says, "that you've had 32 men on that one machine in ten months. What's your daily labor turnover?"



FIG. 78. "Always lower! Well, I thought it would happen when they discharged Missus Finnegan." (By Bo Brown. Reprinted by special permission from the *Saturday Evening Post*, copyright, 1931, by the Curtis Publishing Company)

Mr. Lawson looks a bit uncomfortable and replies: "I don't bother with those minor details. We run a steady force here, but there's bound to be some shifting, of course, out of a pay roll of 600. Maybe we take on a dozen, more or less, a day. Say, Clancy," he calls to his assistant in the next room, "How many men did we take on today?"

"Twenty-one today, Mr. Lawson," Clancy calls back. "But that's more than usual. We average twelve a day throughout the year."

"Do you realize what that 'twelve a day means?" says Mr. Hartley. "In order to keep up that 'steady force' you talk about, you've hauled 3600 men through your gates to fill 600 jobs."¹

This is but one example of wasteful hiring-and-firing of men, but the investigations show that it can be duplicated in thousands of factories. One man in the course of five and one-half years

¹ This episode is based upon one in Daniel Bloomfield's *Employment Management* (reprinted by permission of the H. W. Wilson Company, New York, 1927), pp. 55-57.

worked for 76 different contractors and was employed 108 times. In one year alone he worked for eighteen contractors and was hired 28 times.

Part of the so-called labor turnover is undoubtedly due to the hiring of men to replace those who are ill. In some cases, however, men are hired who are unfit for their jobs and are soon discharged. Others leave voluntarily because they know little of the work they are hired to do or do not like it. Still others are

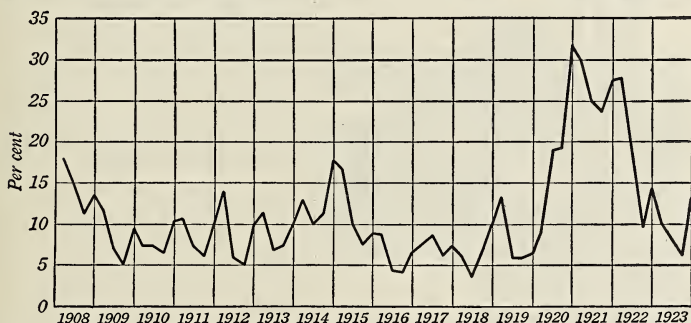


FIG. 79. Unemployment among organized wage-earners in Massachusetts, 1908-1923. (Massachusetts Department of Labor and Industries)

obliged to leave because most of the workers are of another race or nationality or hold different religious or political views, and they cannot get on with them. For one reason or another American workmen remain on their jobs but a short time.

Is the problem of labor turnover an important one? Does it seem to show lack of scientific handling of men? Experts who have studied the problem believe that with careful planning the labor turnover of the industries could be very greatly reduced.

**The most important factor of all: machines are
multiplying more rapidly than jobs**

But the fundamental factor producing unemployment today is the increasing invention of labor-saving machines. This is more far-reaching than any of those which we have stated.

For machines to throw men out of their jobs is not new in itself. Throughout the Industrial Revolution, the invention of

machines always replaced the work of men. But more jobs were always created for them in the new industries which sprang up.

Consider as an example the invention of the automobile and the growth of the new automobile industry. After the first practicable automobile had been invented in the early 1890's and people began to buy automobiles in increasing numbers in place

of carriages, many men were thrown out of work in other industries. The blacksmiths, carriage and wagon builders, carriage painters and trimmers, workers in steel carriage tires, lamp-makers, harness-makers, workers about stables, men in the "grain and feed" business, and the like had to find other kinds of work.

But note how many jobs were brought into existence by the perfecting of the automobile! To begin with, there are many, many more automobiles today than

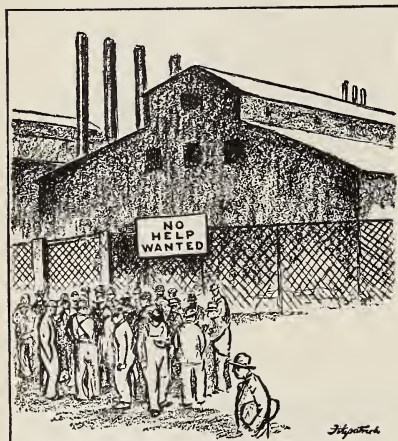


FIG. 80. Machines have made new jobs, but they have steadily decreased the old ones. (Press Publishing Company, New York World)

there were carriages and wagons in 1890. It has been estimated that approximately 800,000 men are now working in the automobile factories of the United States. About 1,400,000 men are employed as chauffeurs to drive automobile trucks and private cars; 575,000 men have jobs in repair shops and garages; 360,000 men are engaged in selling cars or automobile parts. In addition, more than 600,000 other men are employed in other jobs which have been made necessary by the invention of the automobile. Road-builders, gasoline-refiners, machine-tool builders, and road-material factory workers are examples. In all, the automobile industry alone, which displaced the wagon and carriage industry, provides work for 3,700,000 persons.

This is but a single example, but it is typical of many that

could be given if there were space. In one industry after another machines were invented and improved. As a result people have been thrown out of their jobs, and much suffering has been caused. At the same time that new machines were invented and new factories erected, many new jobs were created — jobs in building factories; jobs in supplying raw materials such as coal, iron, and oil; jobs in manufacturing; jobs in selling and in transporting raw materials and finished products; jobs in repairing; jobs in replacing worn or broken parts with new parts; jobs in administering laws; jobs in advertising.

Lack of space prevents us from multiplying illustrations. The important point to remember is that inventions came slowly before 1900, and as men were displaced by improvements in one industry, most of them could find jobs in new ones.

BUT THE NEW INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION SINCE 1890 HAS BROUGHT A NEW FACTOR

Before the days of great corporations, inventors like Samuel F. B. Morse, Elias Howe, Charles Goodrich, and William Kelly struggled alone and in poverty. As corporations grew, however, the captains of industry set up laboratories and paid clever inventors to do the inventing. Today thousands of highly trained inventors, working on regular salaries, devote themselves to improving processes of manufacturing and thus to cutting down the number of workmen needed in industry. Tens of thousands of new patents are asked for each year. So rapidly are improvements being perfected that engineers predict that the boys and girls of today will live to see most of the labor now performed by *men with machines* almost entirely performed by *machines without men*. They predict, indeed, "manless factories."

Consider a single contrast between the methods commonly found in industries only a few years ago and those of today.

Two factories stand almost side by side in Milwaukee, two factories of the A. O. Smith Corporation, manufacturers of automobile frames. In one factory are found 2000 men "in long assembly lines, drilling holes, driving bolts, twisting shapes, conveying the growing frame by hand from process to process." In

the second factory 200 men are turning out the same amount of work! Nine tenths of the men have been displaced. Here also, in this "automatic" mill, fewer than 50 men actually touch the product.

Turn back to figure 4. It shows you what this factory looks like. In imagination, enter with us a room 100 yards long and 65 yards wide with an almost solid wall of glass. Do you see that machine yonder, the largest of all the great "mechanical dragons" in the vast room? See it in action as Mr. Stuart Chase saw it:

With drum-shattering gasps it is solemnly picking up pieces of steel, fitting them to a pattern, dropping the unit down for some attention . . . raising it up, placing it on a little carriage of delicate steel rods . . . carriage after carriage, which rush and stop, rush and stop, rush and stop, in our direction. . . .

As the frames advance and stop, two batteries of steel dragons, with jaws like those of stone Aztec serpents, move forward upon them, one from either side. Their round metal eyes glitter, their jaws are distended to cavernous proportions, they nuzzle into their victim's vitals, select each a sought-for rivet, then slowly, relentlessly, even softly, the great jaws close. The final crunch of 40,000 pounds upon the rivet head is effortless. Gently the jaw opens; gently and solemnly both batteries retreat. The frame moves on to another group of monsters, where the process is repeated with a second set of rivets. One hundred rivets require about 100 dragons, and only about six can operate comfortably at one "station."

Sometimes, if you please, the beast opens its mouth to bite, thinks better of it, retires, rears up into a more ferocious position, and then comes dreadfully down. It is reported that Mr. Otto Kahn could not be budged from his entranced survey of this deliberate animal. "I have seen many ingenious machines," he said, "but this is the first that ever I saw which started to do a job, stopped, spit on its hands, hitched up its overalls, and then went to work!"¹

In the entire construction of an automobile frame there are 552 separate operations. Practically all these are now done by manless machines, by "mechanical men." It was but a few years ago that this almost manless plant was a dream. Today through the work of industrial engineers it has become a reality.

¹ The quotation is from Stuart Chase's "Danger at the A. O. Smith Corporation," *Fortune*, November, 1930, pp. 62 ff.

Can we expect approximately manless plants in other industries? Yes, the engineers confidently tell us, wherever the product can be made in huge quantities, say 1,000,000 parts at a time. If people were content to use the same designs for several years even a whole automobile could be made and assembled with one tenth the number of men now employed.

But what do manless plants mean to the millions of workers of the United States?

The new condition is called technological unemployment

Careful students of problems of labor now conclude that an entirely new condition has been reached in industry. It is commonly called technological unemployment. Perhaps this seems like a difficult phrase. Nevertheless it is so important to the American people that we should learn to understand its meaning and not be afraid to use it. You will probably encounter it many times in your reading.

Technological unemployment means unemployment which comes because power-driven machines are invented more rapidly than jobs can be created. Today there is scarcely a real handicraft; scarcely anything is made by hand. Thousands of trained inventors are at work improving old machines, inventing new ones, improving processes, cutting down the time of manufacture. But above all they are cutting down the number of machine-



FIG. 81. In this cartoon the artist has told the story of what he thinks helps to create business depressions nowadays. (John M. Baer in *Labor*, Washington, D.C.)

tenders, cutting down the jobs. Thus unemployment is increasing rapidly, and now fewer new jobs are being created for the workers who have been displaced.

That technological unemployment is increasing in a great range of industries is illustrated by Table XIX. In four years production increased in nine important industries — in four of them, very greatly. In the same period labor actually decreased —

in six of the nine industries by one twelfth to one fifth.

Dozens of other examples could be cited. By the time this book has been printed, perhaps others will have appeared in the current newspapers and magazines.

One newspaper announces that "the Bos-

ton and Maine Railroad has perfected a freight-car-switching machine that will be capable of handling a million cars a year without the aid of brakemen or switchmen."

Another newspaper offers the information that in the New York subway "the substitution of turnstiles for ticket-takers has reduced from 1500 to 471 the number of people employed in handling the entrance of passengers."

Accounting machines eliminate clerks. Talking "movies" throw musicians out of work in theaters. Automatic selling machines displace salesmen, and dictaphones put stenographers out of offices. So the list increases year after year. We need not multiply these instances. We have studied enough examples to see what is happening.

Students of American life ask: "Will the machine that creates wealth also create poverty? Is it going to create for us a permanent class of unemployed?" And some economists answer, "Yes, unless we *plan* carefully the nation's industry, business, and agriculture, we shall have increasing technological unemployment."

TABLE XIX

| INCREASE IN PRODUCTION AND DECREASE IN LABOR IN NINE IMPORTANT INDUSTRIES BETWEEN 1923 AND 1927 | | |
|---|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Industries | Per Cent Increase in Production | Per Cent Decrease in Labor |
| Refinement of oil . . | 84 | 5 |
| Tobacco | 53 | 13 |
| Meat | 20 | 19 |
| Railroads | 30 | 1 |
| Building (Ohio only) . | 11 | 15 |
| Coal | 4 | 15 |
| Steel | 8 | 9 |
| Cotton | 3 | 13 |
| Lumber | 6 | 21 |

THE SERIOUS LACK OF A NATIONAL PLAN

We have now discussed four important factors which contribute to unemployment in the United States :

1. Seasonal slackness
2. Temporary shutdowns and lay-offs
3. A large labor turnover
4. Machines multiplying more rapidly than new jobs

Each of these factors has revealed the same important need, that of better planning. Because of lack of planning, seasonal slackness throws thousands of men out of work every year. Because of it temporary shutdowns and lay-offs throw other thousands out of work. Wasteful hiring-and-firing of men creates unemployment for still other thousands. New machines are taking the place of men with terrifying rapidity, leaving thousands with little hope of reëmployment. Does this too seem to show a lack of planning?

Does not this great army of the unemployed — large even in times of prosperity — show a need for a national plan of producing goods and providing jobs for all? Can plans be made which will relieve workers of some of the fears under which they live — fear of accident, of oncoming middle age, of seasonal lay-offs, of dismissal because of displacement by new machines?

This will be the subject for discussion in the following chapter.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET
ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

See the readings listed in Chapter IX. .

CHAPTER IX

SCIENTIFIC PLANNING IN INDUSTRY

The following is a fundamental principle of American democracy :

Every human being, so far as the nation's resources permit, is entitled to a job fitted to his abilities and interests which will enable him to earn a secure and comfortable living.

Do you agree to that principle? Would there be any disagreement upon it among thinking people? Does it conflict with the purpose of the American Constitution, "to promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity"?

Is not that same principle implied in the following statement, which Jefferson wrote into the Declaration of Independence?

All men are . . . endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; . . . among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness — these are inalienable rights! What can guarantee them more securely than to provide a job for everyone? Can there be "general welfare" and true "liberty" in a wealthy country in which a large and increasing army of the people are constantly worried by the danger of unemployment?

But conditions are totally different from what they were in 1776 or 1787. The 4,000,000 inhabitants of that time have grown to nearly 123,000,000, and ways of living have completely changed. Planning for the "general welfare" has become a gigantic task. Is it possible to put the principle of "A good job for everybody" into practice today? Let us see what the requirements are for this task.

**Is there enough wealth and engineering intelligence to
provide jobs for all?**

In the books of this series we have frequently considered the first part of this question, "Is there enough wealth?" The answer has been given definitely, "Yes!" Uncle Sam has enough wealth to give each family a comfortable standard of living, if his engineers and statesmen can work out plans to use it wisely.

That the engineers themselves are hopeful that it may be done is shown by recent statements of leaders among them. In an address recently given before the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, Dexter S. Kimball said: "Production is increasing so rapidly that one can predict the near end of all poverty in America." That is, the country's industries and farms can now produce enough food, shelter, and clothing to provide these things for everybody in America. Even now there are enough natural resources, enough machines, enough capital, to do this.

Other engineers have reported recently that if adequate plans can be made to use the knowledge of manufacturing, finance, agriculture, trade, transportation, and communication which engineers and business leaders now possess, the necessities and comforts which our people need could be produced in a twelve-hour working week! There could be two working days of six hours each or three working days of four hours each — divide the time as you like. Poverty could be eliminated from the country. The fear of economic insecurity could be abolished.

But note the important qualification in the statement "if adequate plans can be made."

Wanted: sound plans for industry and business

We need scientifically planned ways of producing food, shelter, and clothing for the people of America. They must be of two types: first, plans to carry on the industries today so that no one will suffer from unemployment; second, far-reaching plans for the future which will produce food, shelter, and clothing more efficiently and will distribute the national income more equitably.

Consider, first, a few examples of plans needed to eliminate unemployment today :

1. Plans for national employment agencies to bring workers and jobs together.
2. Plans which will guide people in the choice of jobs, putting the right man in the right place.
3. Plans which will avoid the waste of human efficiency due to ill health and accidents.
4. Plans which will avoid the large labor turnover.
5. Plans which will provide insurance for those who are unemployed because of unavoidable accidents, ill health, temporary shutdowns, and lay-offs.
6. Plans which will use government funds to employ those out of work on the building of public works.
7. Plans which will bring about better coöperation between workers and owners.

In addition, the country needs even more fundamental plans for industry, agriculture, business, finance, and transportation. Consider the following examples :

1. Plans for the coal mines and oil wells which will provide just enough fuel, and no more, to supply the country's and the world's needs.
2. Similar plans for the efficient production of the right amounts of wheat, corn, meat, vegetables, fruit, and other necessary foods.
3. Plans for the production of textiles and garments.
4. Plans for the efficient use of railroads, automobile trucks, and other kinds of transportation.
5. Finally, plans for distributing the national income among the people so that every man, woman, and child in America can have at least the minimum comfortable standard of living which the great wealth of the nation now makes possible.

Suppose, for example, that some of the things just suggested were introduced into industry. What assurance have we that the people would be better off? Let us see what a single contrast between a planned and an unplanned way of handling workers shows us.

**A contrast: thoughtless hiring-and-firing versus
scientific management**

1. In one factory

Long lines of men waiting outside factory gates. Cold wind whipping meagerly clad forms. Gloomy faces. Will there be any jobs today? Can they get work, any kind of work?

Mr. Herron is one of them. He has worked in this plant before, but as his wife explains sadly:

Mr. Herron lost his job in May. They just laid him off the middle of one afternoon and he never got back again. [He had part-time work for a while.] But he hasn't had even that for the last few months. Poor boy — he's tramped the streets looking for work. More than once I've seen him cry when he couldn't find even a ditch-digging job . . . Mr. Herron borrowed from his cousins, enough to keep up the rent and the furniture payments. But they both got laid off in October. Then we borrowed on the furniture we had paid for — mortgaged it, you know. But that's gone. There isn't a piece of coal in the bin, nor a thing to eat in the pantry.

This family was forced to ask help of a charity organization.

2. In another factory

What a contrast is Mr. Herron's story with that of another worker in a factory where the industry has been carefully planned and goods are produced only to supply the actual demand. This factory runs throughout the year:

" . . . there was this system for saving, and the last six years, I've had steady work *guaranteed* me. Well, I've got the house more than



FIG. 82. "Where is the smoke from the chimneys?" (Press Publishing Company, New York World)

half clear. I've got five thousand dollars' worth of stock, and a good part of that is paid for. I've got my two boys in high school. . . . I don't know how much you know about wage-earners' lives. But I'm telling you I don't know another firm anywhere that would make it possible for a man like me to get on like that, him and his family. The wife was saying just the other night — we've forgotten what it feels like to be afraid."¹

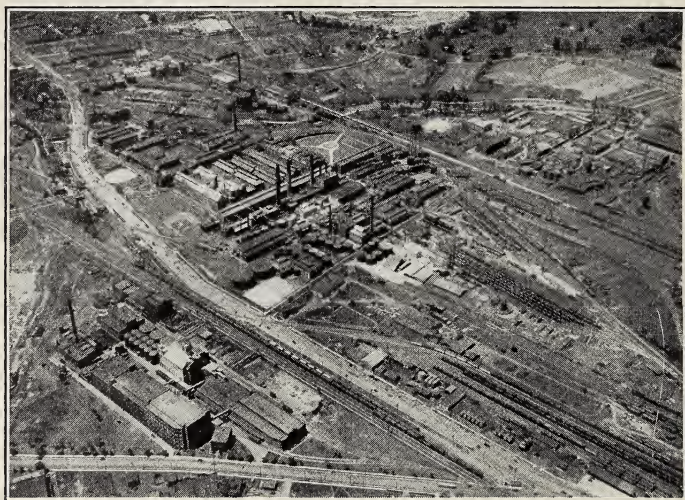


FIG. 83. A factory in which the workers do not fear to find such a condition as you see in figure 82. (Courtesy of the Procter and Gamble Company)

The workers in the second plant *are guaranteed 48 weeks of work during the year*. How is this *guaranty* possible? As we said, merely because the owners of the huge factory regulate the amount of goods to be produced in each month so that the plant can be kept open all the time.

The workmen derive other benefits too. They are protected by a scheme of sickness insurance and old-age pension, and they are given the opportunity to buy company stock and partake in profit-sharing dividends. When the work in one department is

¹ This contrast was suggested by two articles by Beulah Amidon, in *The Survey* for March 1, 1930, pp. 656 ff., and April 1, 1930, pp. 18 ff.

slack, the worker is at times taken off his regular job and put on something else, but he always has work and regular pay.

In the first case, in which there was lack of planning, we see men and women harassed and worried. Such a situation is hard on employees, and on the community, which must share the burden of relief. In the second case, in which labor problems are



FIG. 84. A charity organization supplying breakfast to men out of a job. With proper industrial plans perhaps many of these men would not need charity

scientifically managed, we have the picture of workers leading contented lives with little or no fear of losing their jobs, and of a community that reflects the prosperity of its members. This plan has paid the employers as well as the employees.

Already, therefore, some individual business men are beginning to plan the work of their factories. Let us study examples of this planning to see how far it can provide secure jobs and a comfortable standard of living for everyone.

PLANS FOR ELIMINATING SEASONAL SLACKNESS, UNNECESSARY LABOR TURNOVER, AND TEMPORARY LAY-OFFS

1. Stimulating the demand for goods in off seasons

In the previous chapter you learned that one important factor producing unemployment was seasonal slackness. To be sure, the remedy for this condition is to be found in operating factories the year round. How can this be done?

An important report by a state committee of experts, the New York Committee on Stabilization of Industry for the Prevention of Unemployment, points out that some companies are already operating their plants the year round by offering special inducements to their customers to give advance orders. For example, a large shoe company guarantees lower prices to retailers if they will order in advance. Another big company secures orders for goods which can be manufactured in off seasons "by quoting winter prices 5 per cent below those of late summer and early fall." Coal dealers too offer discounts on orders placed in April and May, when the price of coal and the demand for it are at their lowest. Through advertising, other firms — date-packers, manufacturers of paint, and the like — have persuaded people to buy their products at all seasons. Even national advertising campaigns have been launched to encourage all-year-round trade. The florists of the United States use the slogan "Say it with flowers" to stimulate all-year-round buying.

Such examples show that some of the seasonal slackness is avoided by encouraging people to buy during off seasons.

One important question must be considered in our later studies, however, and that is Who is going to take the responsibility for "encouraging the people to buy in off seasons"? Is the government going to do it? Shall it be left to the advertising of individual business men? How *shall* it be done?

2. Distributing employment evenly throughout the year by scheduling the work

Another scheme to avoid seasonal unemployment has already been tried out in many industries and found to be successful. The manufacturer first makes an estimate of the number of sales

for the coming year. The total number of manufactured articles probably required for the coming year is then divided into equal monthly parts, and a sufficient number of workmen are employed to take care of the total manufacture for the year. Thus by carefully scheduling production, seasonal unemployment is avoided. Naturally, such budgeting can best be done by those firms which produce standardized products. Among the list of firms are found such varied industries as the Eastman Kodak Company, the Ithaca Gun Company, the Otis Elevator Company, the International Harvester Company, the Griffin Manufacturing Company (shoe polish), and Procter and Gamble Company (soap).

The New York Committee also found that many companies continued to manufacture goods in slack seasons and stored them against later demand. This scheme too best applies to fairly well standardized products.

3. Developing new kinds of products which can be manufactured in off seasons

Have you ever noticed that coal and ice are frequently sold by the same companies? This used to be a general practice, and you can see how it guarded against seasonal slackness. Men were kept busy cutting ice and delivering coal in fall and winter, and handling and delivering ice in summer.

Companies in various parts of the United States and in various industries have used this idea of producing more than one kind of goods to keep their factories going during off seasons. The International Harvester Company, for example, produces a great variety of farm machines. Some of these are used by the farmers in spring, others are used in other seasons. One manufacturer of rubber shoes added rubber sheeting, rubber heels, tennis shoes, rubber cloth, and rubber tires to his list of manufactures. By this means he also keeps his factory going fairly regularly during the year. Many producers of ready-to-use foods also keep their factories going in this way most of the year. The H. A. Dix Company, manufacturers of women's house dresses, manufacture nurses' uniforms in the slack months of the year.

These are only a few of many companies which run their

plants nearly the year round by producing what are called "side lines and fillers." You can see that this insures steady jobs for most of the workers. It is another example of planning to keep employment regular and secure.

4. Shortening the working day

Another way of preventing the unemployment of workers is to make the working day shorter. This method is in use in some canning factories. The workers are engaged for a shortened week in the slack seasons, full time or even overtime in rush seasons. Some railway companies, the Delaware and Hudson Railroad, for example, vary the number of hours in the working day according to the work season. In some seasons the working week is only 32 hours; in others it is 48, and in the rush seasons it is still longer.

5. Other methods of preventing seasonal unemployment

Some firms do business without profit during certain seasons simply to keep their organizations together and to supply jobs for their workers. Others transfer workers from slack departments to busy departments of the same company to avoid lay-offs. In other cases employers keep the factories down to almost minimum production and send out orders during the rush season to other factories to be filled. In still others new processes have been invented which permit the manufacture of some articles which formerly could only be made in certain seasons. For example, owing to a new drying process, brickmaking has become an all-year-round industry.

In many trades labor organizations have secured for their members increased pay for overtime during rush seasons. It is believed that in the long run this will compel the employer to spread his work out more evenly during the year.

PLANS USED TO INCREASE THE SAFETY AND HEALTH OF THE WORKER

We learned in the last chapter that one of the worker's sources of worry was the possibility of ill health and accidents. Long after the beginning of the Industrial Revolution workers spent

their days in dark, unheated, airless factories amid dangerous revolving belts, shafts, and gears. Great physical strength was required to withstand the lack of light and air of the germ-laden factory. But even those physically fit were often caught in the machinery and maimed or killed.

Today factory conditions have been much improved. Many factories have walls and roofs made almost entirely of glass,



FIG. 85. Note how the machinery in the center foreground is protected by a wire mesh to insure safety for the workers

through which the sun filters. In these there is plenty of circulating air, cooled in summer and warmed in winter. By placing belts close to the ceiling or by covering them with a frame many accidents are now prevented. Gears and shafts are "muzzled," as shown in figure 85. Machines are spaced farther apart so that employees passing each other may not be pressed against revolving gears. Workers are warned of dangerous machinery through posters which hang about the factory. "Safety" engineers are often employed by companies to suggest improved methods for cutting down the number of accidents in the factory. Automatic-sprinkler systems and other devices protect against fire.

In spite of improvements of this kind there are still many accidents each year in which workers are killed or are too badly maimed ever to return to their jobs. Some of these accidents are due to carelessness on the part of workers. Some of them, however, are due to a lack of the use of proper accident-preventing methods on the part of employers.

In general the number of accidents is slowly being reduced by scientific methods of planning and the education of the worker.

IMPROVEMENTS IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYEES

In former years, when men had complaints against their bosses and managers, there was no way to express them; they could only quit their jobs or remain discontented and unhappy. In times of prosperity there was a good deal of shifting from job to job for this reason. Today, however, in many plants the worker has an opportunity of laying his complaint before the company. In any disagreements between workers and bosses, for example, the employer's representative can explain the owner's side of the problem and the workman can state the reasons for his dissatisfaction.

In speaking of this new way of giving the workers a chance to state their grievances, an officer of one company said:

"A man quit, and on being asked for reasons, stated that he had to lose too much time waiting for one indispensable tool, and for material for his work. Likewise he was advised that his work was O. K. by one inspector, only to finish it up and have a half day's work thrown back by another inspector. An investigation proved that the man was justified in his complaints; the case was settled and the man is still with us. As this man was an experienced hand in the department in which . . . it cost us \$100 to break in a new man, it looks as though this was a fair day's work."

Other accomplishments of this company as related by the same officer were the following:

1. Improved lighting. One-hundred-watt Mazda lamps were installed every twenty feet.

2. Drain was put in which took care of all excess water, relieving discomfort due to bad odors.

3. Certain foremen were discharged and capable men from other departments put in their places. This move stiffened up discipline and improved the personnel of departments.

4. The entire layout was inspected and safety guards put on all machines where there was any chance of a workman getting injured. Everything possible was done to make the operation of the machines safe and convenient for the men.

5. Two instructors were installed to teach new men.

6. All piece rates were carefully analyzed and prices adjusted so that there were no "good jobs" and "bad jobs." They were all made "fair and square jobs."¹

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE: ANOTHER SAFEGUARD AGAINST WORRY

Why do people insure their houses? Is it not that they may recover their value if they are destroyed? Let us suppose that Mr. Franklin insures his house for \$8000. That is, he pays a small sum each year (a premium) to the insurance company. Many thousands of other house-owners do the same thing. The company invests these sums in stocks and bonds and the like. Later Mr. Franklin's house burns down. The company with which it is insured pays him \$8000. He builds another. Were he not insured he might be without home and money and be unable to rebuild.

Now of late years this notion of insurance has been applied to employment. Practically all the countries of Europe have unemployment insurance in one form or another. The plan originated in Great Britain, where in 1911 the government established a compulsory system of unemployment insurance.

Both employer and employee paid 5 cents each week, and the government added a sum equal to one third of the annual receipts from these two sources. Then if a workman lost his employment, he received insurance money from the second to the sixteenth week of unemployment. There were certain conditions, however,

¹ Adapted from Daniel Bloomfield's *Employment Management* (reprinted by permission of the H. W. Wilson Company, New York, 1927), pp. 44-45.

which he had to fulfill: (1) he must have worked in his occupation at least 26 weeks in each of the preceding three years; (2) his unemployment must not have been caused by a strike or by his own fault; (3) he must accept work of equal value if found for him by the government employment office.

Inducements were also offered to employers to keep their working forces regularly employed; for example, an annual re-



FIG. 86. Note the contrast between the umbrellas which the two workmen hold over their heads for protection. What does this cartoon tell us? (Courtesy of the American Association for Labor Legislation)

fund amounting to 75 cents was made to the employer for each worker who had been employed 45 weeks during the year.

In the years since the World War, however, unemployment has grown to staggering proportions in Great Britain, owing to sharp changes in the coal, textile, and other basic industries. For this reason unemployment relief

has had to be added to the existing unemployment insurance, and the whole scheme of insurance has been modified to meet the unusual conditions.

Has unemployment insurance been effective in Great Britain? One student who investigated the British plan in 1929 said in her report: "I found not a single employee who would willingly abandon unemployment insurance for the old haphazard methods of relieving destitution due to unemployment." Another student of the problem said:

The one great item on the credit side of the ledger is that in this, the worst industrial depression in British history, the standards of living of the working people in Great Britain have been maintained to a degree which would be unbelievable if the facts were not so clear.

The scheme has one important danger, however, as Sir William Beveridge, a famous supporter of the plan, points out. There is "the risk of demoralizing governments, employers, and trade unions so that they take less thought for the prevention of unemployment." He recommends an effective system of employment exchanges which will bring the unemployed into touch with available jobs. You will learn later that a similar proposal is receiving attention in our own country today.

Unemployment insurance has extended into France, Germany, Italy, Austria, Russia, Poland, the Irish Free State, and Queensland, Australia. In the United States trade unions have for a long time maintained out-of-work benefits. For example, since 1890 the Cigar Makers' International Union of America has given out-of-work benefits to its members. But something further is needed which will provide against privations due to un-

employment in *all* fields of work. Students of the problem maintain that a *national* system of unemployment insurance is imperatively needed in the United States. In the past fifteen years many bills to provide unemployment insurance have been introduced into state legislatures, but not one has been passed. Several bills have already been passed by the United States Senate but not by the House of Representatives. Perhaps by the time this book is in your hands one of them will have become a national law.



FIG. 87. Uncle Sam considering the matter of unemployment insurance. (Talburt in the *New York World-Telegram*)

THE NEED FOR BETTER PLANS FOR HELPING MEN FIND WORK

How do most people now find work?

If you needed work tomorrow, how should you go about finding it? Should you go to your father or your neighbor or one of your friends who worked and ask him if he knew of any vacant position which you could fill? That is one way people find jobs. Should you look in the "Help Wanted" columns of the newspapers to see what jobs were available in your town? Many people find them in this way also.

Until very recently there was one regular way for a workman to find a job. That was to tramp from factory to factory, from building to building, from office to office, asking for work. Today, in addition to the places named above, workmen go to the private employment offices.

Finding a job through friends or relatives is an unsatisfactory way for the reason that it depends largely upon chance. There may be many jobs vacant in the factory or office next to that in which your father works, but he may never hear of them.

Finding jobs through the "Help Wanted" advertisements in newspapers is unsatisfactory, too. When an employer has one job to fill, he may advertise in a half-dozen newspapers. A worker then calls to consult him about the job and finds 200 other men in line trying to do the same thing. Of course, only one will be selected, but 200 have lost time and energy and money, possibly, and will still be without jobs.

Are our present employment agencies satisfactory?

1. *Philanthropic employment agencies.* Employment agencies have been established by the Salvation Army, the Veterans' Relief Bureau, and various other charity and religious organizations. By means of them many people find work, although self-reliant workmen do not usually apply there for jobs until they have exhausted their money and every possibility of finding work elsewhere.

2. *Employment exchanges of labor unions and employers' associations.* Because of the lack of government employment exchanges, the owners and the workers maintain their own bureaus.

But each is handicapped because they do not coöperate well and they have little confidence in each other. Union men hesitate to apply to employers' bureaus for work and the employers are slow to make use of the union bureaus. Furthermore, most of the union bureaus serve only one or at most a few trades or industries.

3. *Private employment exchanges.* The employment exchanges about which you have just read are not run for profit. The worker is either charged a very small fee for the job which is found for him or he is not charged anything. There are other employment exchanges which are privately owned and run for profit. For this reason they have some advantages over the other kinds of employment agencies. They are able to spend money to keep in touch with employers who may need workmen; hence they usually have longer lists of vacant jobs. But the private employment agency also has great disadvantages. First, the charges for finding jobs for workmen are high, and this often means a real hardship to the men who have been unemployed for a long time. Second, the owners of these agencies may be dishonest. In one year alone in New York City there were 1932 complaints made to the Bureau of Licenses against these private employment bureaus for dishonest dealings with workmen.

However, private employment agencies flourish everywhere. In our larger cities there are many thousands of them.

WHAT CAN THE GOVERNMENT DO TO HELP PEOPLE GET JOBS?

When a person has the misfortune to be out of work, to what sort of agency should he be able to turn first for aid in finding a job? Should there not be a central employment bureau in his community in which complete records are kept day by day both of jobs and of men who are out of jobs? Should not these records show the conditions all over the United States?

The United States Employment Service

During the World War, when great numbers of men were needed to take the place of those who had left their jobs to become soldiers or sailors, war-emergency employment exchanges

were opened. The Department of Labor at Washington saw that the government must have some way to locate quickly large numbers of workers in the various trades.

Great cantonments were being built in various parts of the country, often requiring the employment of several thousand new mechanics. The location of these men could not be left to chance, to private employment exchanges, or to newspaper advertising.



FIG. 88. A scene in a public employment office in Cleveland. Through such agencies jobs and the jobless may be brought together. (Courtesy of the State-City Employment Service, Cleveland)

It was a specialized professional job, this task of getting "the right man in the right place." So Congress gave the Secretary of Labor \$1,000,000 for the first half of the year 1918 to establish the United States Employment Service and extend the national public employment exchanges. These exchanges succeeded remarkably well in supplying the government with both skilled and unskilled workers.

Farseeing people soon came to the conclusion that what was useful in bringing men and jobs together during war time was likewise useful in peace time. They saw that it was not sufficient

for communities alone to have their local employment bureaus. These were necessary, of course — the very basis of the scheme of employment service. But suppose workers could not find work in their home towns, while a town near by needed people of just their training and experience. How were jobs and workers to get together unless some public agency covering a much larger area than the community operated an active employment bureau? Then they began to see, also, that even state bureaus do not cover a wide enough territory, that a year never goes by without workers' being needed in one state when there is no work for them in another. Hence the need for a national system of public employment exchanges gradually became felt.

In recent years organizations of public-spirited citizens, far-seeing state officials, and members of the Federal Congress have tried to arouse the people to establish an adequate national system of public employment exchanges. Already the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics, with the aid of various state bureaus, collects the facts concerning employment from establishments now employing approximately 5,000,000 workers. In such bureaus, therefore, we have the beginning of a fact-finding agency to help supply information concerning employment.

**Any plan, however, to be successful must be nation-wide
in scope**

In hard times, when there is much unemployment, workers are compelled to move from one community to another, even from one state to another, looking for work. Industries of one community are often very different from those of another near by. One may be a cotton-mill and machine-shop town; another near by may have only chair factories; still another only carpet and woolen mills; and yet another coal mines. Thus a worker who knows only one industry or trade, unable to find work within his city or within his state, may be obliged to look elsewhere. He may even have to take a job halfway across the continent.

How important, therefore, it is to have offices of a national employment service located in every state, even in every community, with full information concerning jobs available in other

communities and states! If such an agency were in existence the worker, instead of aimlessly wandering from city to city, state to state, and region to region, "taking a chance" of finding work, would go to a Federal bureau where he would be directed to a job with the greatest economy in time and money.

PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT: THE RIGHT MAN IN THE
RIGHT PLACE

"Square pegs in round holes!"

Hundreds of thousands of America's industrial army are fitted by nature for one kind of work and are compelled to spend an entire life in a totally different kind of work. They are misfits, forced by chance to drift into occupations in which they are not interested, hired and fired by company after company, living inefficient and unhappy lives. "Square pegs in round holes!"

A student of employment problems once observed a roomful of girls wrapping pencils in the shipping room of a pencil factory. The girls sat before a long table over which there traveled a slowly moving conveyer belt. The finished pencils had been started on this belt from another room and were picked up and wrapped, twelve at a time, by the girls as the belt passed them. All day long girls did nothing but pick up bunches of twelve pencils and wind paper wrapping about them. To be really skillful a girl had to be able to pick up exactly twelve pencils — not eleven or thirteen, but twelve — with one hand; then, with a paper wrapper in the other, make a quick movement and wind the wrapper around the pencils, sticking the ends of it together. The observer timed these girls and noted carefully how skillful each was. Some never missed the correct number — reaching, grasping, and wrapping in a rhythmical movement all day long. Their hands, their fingers, eyes, and brains worked together perfectly. Others blundered constantly — grasped ten, eleven, or thirteen as often as twelve, took two wrappers instead of one, and the like. They could wrap in a day only a fraction of the number that others could wrap. These girls were "square pegs in round holes." They should have been doing another kind of work which did not require fine, complicated movements.

Prior to 1920 this situation was true of many kinds of industrial work. Large numbers of people were doing work for which they were not fitted. Doubtless the old saying was true that many a poor preacher would have made a good blacksmith. And so it was with poor teachers, poor lawyers, and other misfits; they might have made good pencil-wrappers.

**The employment, or personnel, manager and what
he does**

Factory-owners and factory-managers are beginning to talk about the "science of managing men," about "scientific hiring-and-firing." Some of them are going to great expense to test men and women very carefully before they are hired for work and to keep records of all those whom they employ — of the work they do, its quantity and quality, of the reasons for which they left or were discharged, and the like. In former times the boss, or foreman, of a department would hire a worker after talking with him a minute or two. He would ask where the man had worked, how long he had worked there, and the kind of work he had done. This is still the way many people are hired today. In companies, however, in which scientific planning is done, there are expert employment, or personnel, managers. In these plants there is less of the hit-or-miss method of hiring new men. Jobs in various mechanical trades are analyzed, and tests are devised to find out whether an applicant can do the work for which he applies.

In testing whether a man can fill a job as motorman, for example, the applicant for the job "is required to operate levers by hand and foot in response to a system of signals that are thrown upon the [magic lantern] screen." You can see from this that motormen must possess three things: good eyesight, good muscles, and the ability to act quickly. Can you also see that if a man passed this test his chances of being discharged would be less than if he could not pass it?

Some companies put their employees through a special course of training before they are permitted to work. While they are being trained, those who have just managed to pass the test may

show great improvement or they may be found not so fit for the job as was first thought. In this way, a second check is made to make sure the workman is not a misfit. After they are employed, records are kept of them. It may be discovered later that the workman is still better suited for work in another department. The employment manager then transfers him to that

department. Thus the square peg is fitted to the square hole; the right man is found for the right job.

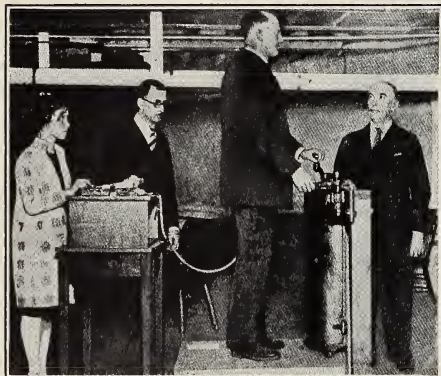


FIG. 89. A man taking a test to determine whether he will make an able trolley-car motorman. (Courtesy of the Boston Elevated Railway)

SUMMING UP THE NEED FOR PLANNING IN ECO- NOMIC LIFE

What answer can we give, then, to the question Are industry and business being planned to provide every human being with a job fitted to his abilities and in-

terests — one which will give each a secure and comfortable living? Are plans being made for industry and business?

Yes, a few farseeing and humane leaders in business are even now trying to run their enterprises on plans which take the worker into consideration. There are, for example, plans for putting the right man in the right place; plans for avoiding ill health and accidents, a large labor turnover, seasonal slackness, and temporary lay-offs; plans for insuring workers against unemployment; plans for securing better coöperation between workers and owners. There are also scattered local public employment agencies which try to bring workers and jobs together. This much in the way of planning has already been achieved. And sentiment is spreading for the extension of such planning.

Important as are the steps which have been already taken, however, vastly bigger and more difficult ones remain to be taken.

Nation-wide plans for industry, agriculture, finance, business, transportation, and communication must be designed and put into practice by our local, state, and national leaders. Note a few striking examples of the country's needs.

First, the need for nation-wide planning of the use of the basic resources — coal, oil, copper, iron, etc.— in order that the amounts to be produced annually and the ways in which they are produced shall wisely conserve the resources of the nation and shall give to workers in these basic industries regular employment and comfortable incomes.

Second, plans for nation-wide coöperative control of the production of wheat, corn, meat, and other staple foods, in order to guarantee the farmer a decent standard of living.

Third, plans for coöperative control of the production of textile goods and garments to provide all workers with permanent jobs and a comfortable living.

Fourth, plans for coöperative control of railroads and other means of transportation, which will eliminate the present wastes of competition.

Finally, plans which will help to distribute the national income among the people so that every man, woman, and child in America can have at least the comfortable standard of living which the great wealth of the nation now makes possible.

To the consideration of these problems we shall turn in later chapters of the book.

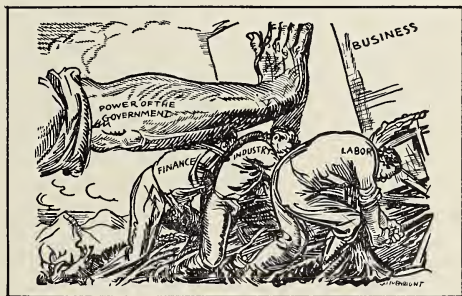


FIG. 90. "Along the road to plenty." This cartoon illustrates the effect which government aid might have. What else does it illustrate? (Press Publishing Company, New York World)

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

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UNIT IV

GOVERNMENT AND CHANGING TOWN AND
CITY LIFE

GOVERNMENT AND CHANGING TOWN AND CITY LIFE

We turn now to another aspect of our changing culture — to problems of government. As American communities have changed, government has changed with them. As a result insistent and difficult problems demand solution. To these problems we shall be introduced in the next unit of this book.

In Chapter X we shall witness scenes of changing community government from the simple, personal town meeting of 1800 to the complicated, impersonal city elections of today. The problems of local government and the plans evolved for their solution, therefore, will be seen against the background of their historical development. In this way we shall try to understand the "paper" government of American towns and cities.

In Chapter XI we shall study the "real" government of the community — how government is conducted under the new urban conditions of our towns and cities. To do this we shall again study the principal groups of the community, whose different needs and interests produce the actual but invisible government.

In Chapter XII we shall see how laws grew up that order might be preserved and that persons and their property might be protected in the community. Thus through this study of law we shall study the paper government again.

In Chapter XIII, however, we shall return to the study of the real government, asking how these laws have actually worked. And we shall see again that with the rapid growth of communities grave problems of law and order have grown up.

CHAPTER X

CHANGING COMMUNITY GOVERNMENT IN AMERICA

Government by town meeting, November, 1830

There was standing room only in the little town hall that bordered the Laneville Common. It was November, 1830, and the town meeting was in session. To Daniel Seabury, moderator, and the selectmen seated on the raised platform at the end of the room, it seemed that the whole community was gathered there. Not only the villagers, but whole families from farms miles out in the township had crowded into the building to take part in the annual meeting. This meeting was of unusual interest because of the question to be decided: Should the citizens of the town build a school and tax everybody in the township to pay for it?

In the front of the room were grouped the leading men of the township. The Reverend Edmund Wilson, the preacher of the First Unitarian Church and the leader in favor of a free public school, sat beside John Stone, the town grocer, and Ed Davidson, the town butcher. In another corner was John Bowles and a group of farmers from the hamlet of Ponikin Hill, with jaws set and faces flushed, determined that they should not be taxed for values which they did not receive. Samuel Hutchinson, the old bachelor carpenter, argued earnestly with John Mott, the postmaster.

The women and children were seated in the rear of the room. They rarely missed a town meeting, for to them it was a social event as well as a political gathering. The women talked together about the new school project, whispered bits of gossip, and planned family dinners. At this meeting they were vitally concerned in the question to be decided. It meant a better education for their children than they themselves had received. Most of them had come to see that their husbands answered "aye" when the question was put to vote.

In this Laneville of 1830 everyone knew everyone else. The village itself had only about 40 houses, and the population of the whole township was not more than 800. Of those eligible to vote, — that is, men over 21 years of age who owned a certain amount of property and could read and write, — there were not more than 100. However, even those who could not vote were intensely

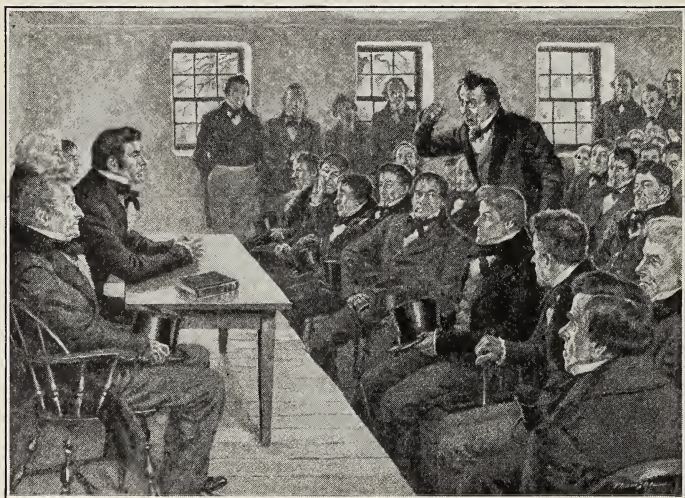


FIG. 91. A town meeting in 1830. Questions were thoroughly discussed by the people of the community before voting took place

interested in village politics and had the privilege of expressing their opinions in the town meeting before the voting took place.

Daniel Seabury called the meeting to order, and the Reverend Edmund Wilson rose to speak for those who desired the free public school.

"From every standpoint it is desirable for Laneville to have this school," he said. "The very foundation of democratic government, not only in Laneville but in America, is an educated citizenry. If Laneville is to be a better community in the future it will become so only through the education of all the people."

When the Reverend Edmund Wilson finished speaking, John Bowles sprang to his feet.

"Why should we pay for the education of your children in town?" he asked. "There's no way we can send *our* children to a village school over four miles of bad roads in winter."

John Stone replied with arguments for the school project. Then Samuel Hutchinson, bachelor, rose.

"Why should I pay for the education of the children of other people?" he argued. "Nobody educated me. Had to git my own larnin'."

"But . . ." cried someone else.

"Order!" Daniel Seabury commanded.

The debate waxed hot and excitement ran high. During the next few hours not less than 40 citizens of the township addressed the community. Finally it was moved that the vote be cast. The women whispered together in the rear of the room. Would the people who wanted the new school win? Or would the opposition?

When the votes were counted, it was found that the advocates for the new school had won by the narrow margin of three votes. Amidst a flurry of excited conversation, the meeting was adjourned.

City election, November, 1930

It is 100 years to a week later. Laneville has become a large manufacturing town of 60,000, and at this time is holding its biennial city election. Sixty officials are to be elected — a mayor, 12 aldermen, 24 councilmen, a city treasurer, city clerk, assessor, engineer, and a long list of minor officials. Sample ballots, distributed the day before, show more than 300 candidates for these offices, nominated by the five political parties. The eligible voters now number 25,000 and include women as well as men, Negroes as well as white people, and a score of recent immigrant races and nationalities. In addition to electing officers, these people are called upon to vote "Yes" or "No" to eight questions affecting the life of the great city — whether to build additional parks, add to the water-supply system, issue bonds for a new million-dollar junior high school, and the like.

The voting itself is a hurried, impersonal affair. Instead of one central voting place there are dozens of polls in the various

precincts of the city. Here the voters stop on their way to or from work. In small booths each one places a cross before the name of the political party to which he belongs or votes mechanically with one of the new voting machines and then rushes away.

What a contrast this city election of 1930 is to the town meeting of 100 years before!

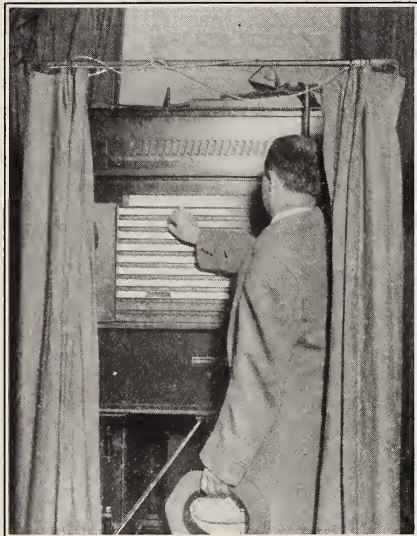


FIG. 92. This is a voting machine. After the curtains are drawn together the voter pushes down one lever for each candidate for whom he wishes to vote, and when he opens the curtains the vote is automatically registered

In the latter everyone met in the town hall to discuss face to face the problems of local government. Facts were presented directly, and all sides of the question were debated by all present. Of those eligible 95 per cent voted. In 1930 there was no discussion of the problems. Much advertising, but few facts were conveyed to the people through newspapers and political speeches. Candidates were not known personally. Only about 45 per cent of the eligible voters took enough interest to cast ballots.

This change from personal to impersonal gov-

ernment was brought about by the growth of the town and the increasing complexity of its life. No longer did everyone know everyone else. Issues became less vital to individuals, and the interest of the people in politics waned. More and more, professional politicians ran the government. The result was the mechanical, cut-and-dried election of 1930 with its lack of interest, lack of knowledge of candidates, and lack of discussion on the merits and demerits of proposed community actions. Figures 91 and 92 illustrate the change which has taken place in 100 years.

In this brief contrast we have a glimpse of the simple local government of 100 years ago and of its condition today. In order to understand how it changed so completely let us remind ourselves of the factors which at present make government difficult in our communities.

The business of running a community is not an
easy matter

One fact stands out clearly from our studies of the community — the public affairs of the modern American town or city are complicated indeed. For example, in earlier days each household had its own well and disposed of its own sewage. Today water must be provided from a central water-supply system and sewage disposed of in a central sewage-disposal plant. This requires the building of great reservoirs and the laying of pipe lines under the streets of the cities and into the houses.

Then, too, each family was responsible for its own fire and health protection. Today because of the congestion of houses and families the community as a whole must provide this protection. Streets were then unlighted except from the windows of houses. Today each community provides light for all public places.

A similar change has occurred in connection with the other activities of the community. One by one matters formerly regarded as *private* have been taken over by the community as *public*. Thus many services must be performed for the citizens which formerly they did themselves, and today these community services make up a complicated business.

The work of the community goes on smoothly only when
it is carried on by an efficient community government

Directing the policemen, the firemen, the health officers, the street-cleaners, the garbage-collectors, are the governing officials. For the firemen they are the engineers, the assistant chiefs, and the chief. For the policemen they are clerks, patrolmen, sergeants, lieutenants, and the police commissioner. Thus behind the people who enforce the laws, put out the fires, care for public

health and cleanliness, are governing officials who plan and direct the work which is to be done and keep the public records.

But behind even these chiefs and commissioners are still more important leaders who appoint many of the employees of the community, who direct and supervise *their* work. They are leaders who belong to none of these departments but to the community



FIG. 93. In earlier days when houses caught fire each householder depended upon his family and his neighbors to put it out

as a whole. Just as a great corporation has a president, a board of directors, a secretary-treasurer, and general manager, so a community has a governing body.

FROM THE SIMPLE TO THE COMPLEX: THE STORY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN AMERICA

Let us see the chief steps by which the simple community government of earlier times became the great complicated business and political enterprise of today.

Throughout a century and a half of colonial history, government, like community life, was comparatively simple. Each of the three groups of colonies, New England, the South, and the

middle colonies, had its own peculiar type of local government, each being determined by the ways in which the people lived.

In New England, where the people lived close together in compact communities, each town or township had a separate government. In Virginia and the other Southern colonies, where people lived on plantations scattered farther apart, each county had a separate government. The middle colonies — New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware — adopted a combined township-and-county form of government. Let us consider these types.

1. The town meeting and town government of New England

By far the most important of these types of government in the history of the country was the New England town government. The chief feature of this was, as you now know, the town meeting. At this annual meeting, the people heard reports from the selectmen and other town officials, the eligible voters elected new officials for the coming year, passed needed town laws (called by-laws or ordinances), levied taxes, and appropriated money to pay for the expenses of government.

As the chart of figure 95 shows us, the government in those small communities was simple enough to meet the needs of the community life. In fact, as you no doubt have seen from the description of the Laneville town meeting, this was the best example



FIG. 94. Today, in case of fire, householders depend upon city fire departments

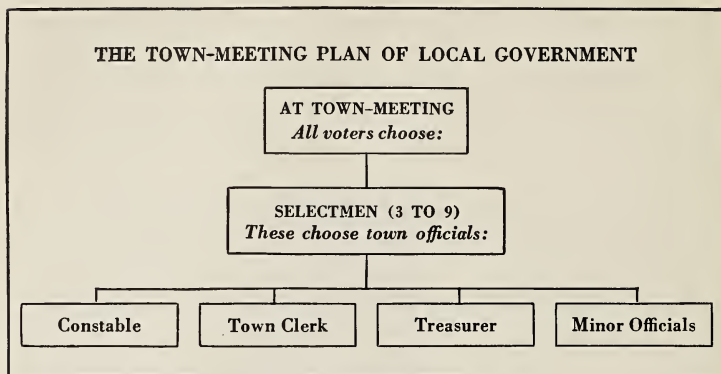


FIG. 95

of direct self-government the country has produced in its experiment in democracy. As one authority has said of it:

Any citizen present is free to express any criticism or ask any question. No better method of checking the conduct of public officers has ever been discovered than this system of report in open meeting. Keen questions and sharp comment rip open and expose to view the true inwardness of the officers' behavior.

At its best, the New England town meeting has never been equaled as a [plan] for local government. No mere representative system can give the opportunity for real participation in government which a town meeting affords. Even the small boys who come to enjoy the fun from the gallery are taught that government is a living reality. By grappling first-hand with their own small local problems, men are trained to take part wisely in the bigger affairs of state and nation.¹

Thus the town meeting made the laws through direct, face-to-face debate. In the early years of our country's history the great majority of the eligible citizens took a direct part in helping decide public questions. Interest in public affairs was deep. Many citizens were well informed.

Throughout most of our history even to the present day, the small communities of New England and other Eastern states

¹ Thomas H. Reed, *Form and Functions of American Government*, pp. 218, 220. Copyright 1916, 1925, by the World Book Company, Yonkers, New York.

have been governed by this town plan. In some communities of even 25,000 inhabitants or more, today the selectmen still post the annual "Town Warrant," announcing the town meeting on a given date. In this printed announcement, which is posted in public places, are enumerated the questions which will come before the meeting. For example, in a recent meeting held in the town of Framingham, Massachusetts (population 22,210 in 1930), a few of its purposes were announced as follows :

Art. 4. To see if the Town will grant or appropriate a sum not exceeding twenty-five hundred dollars (\$2500) for the purchase by the tree warden of a new tree-spraying machine . . .

Art. 8. To see if the Town will vote to install and maintain incandescent electric lights on the following named streets . . .

Art. 9. To see if the Town will vote to raise the pay of its Police Officers fifty cents a day . . .

Art. 12. To see if the Town will vote to appropriate a sum . . . to reimburse Wellington H. Pratt for expenses incurred in the construction of a sewer and the laying of water pipes . . .

Although the town plan of direct self-government is still in force, the attitude toward community problems has radically changed. Some towns using the plan have acquired a population as large as that of cities in other parts of the country. Citizens in these overgrown "towns" have little knowledge of public affairs, and so their interest has declined. The result is that even in the annual town meeting, the attendance is but a small fraction of the eligible voters. For example, in a recent year when one community in Massachusetts had reached a population of about 20,000 inhabitants, the normal attendance at the town meeting was only about 800. In another community in the same state out of about 2500 eligible voters, the average attendance ranged from only 300 to 400. Similar conditions are found today throughout the Eastern states.

There are, of course, other reasons for this decline in attendance at town meetings. One is that politicians now control the affairs of the local government. They choose candidates for office to be voted on at the annual meeting, decide how important questions are to be settled, and make sure that enough citizens who will support their plans are on hand to control the meeting.

2. The community government of the Southern states

In the Southern states, as we have already said, there were few towns. People lived on plantations which were generally miles apart. Because the population was scattered over such a large area, the colonists who first settled the South adopted the English "shire," or county, form of government. Each year at a meeting on the courthouse green, the voters — that is, the owners of property — elected a county board of commissioners. These men ran the affairs of the county as the selectmen did the affairs of the New England town. The county commissioners selected such needed officials as a county lieutenant, a sheriff, justices of the peace, persons in charge of roads, persons in charge of county finance. These comprised the local government.

3. The combined town-county government of the middle states

New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware tended to adopt modified forms of the town and county government plans. This was in part due to the fact that they had been settled by colonists from several different countries, who had different ideas of land ownership and government. As population grew more dense and towns increased in number, these separate communities were organized under separate town governments. In the more sparsely settled regions, however, the county form of government was used.

These three forms of government were carried
westward by settlers, 1790-1890

During the colonial period of a century and a half, therefore, either the town, the county, or a combination of the two forms of government served the little communities of the eastern seaboard colonies. Then came the War of the Revolution and separation from Great Britain. Even that radical change in national government brought practically no change in local government. Communities continued to govern themselves essentially as they had when they were subject to British rule.

In the meantime, however, the great westward movement of land settlement began and continued throughout more than 100 years. As the westward movement went forward, the three types of local government tended to move westward with it. The New England town meeting was adopted in the new states of the Northwest. The county form of government was adopted in Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, following the example of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. Many of the new states used both forms. Throughout the entire United States these three types of local government became established and were used almost without exception until after 1900.

THE RISE OF CITIES AND NEW PROBLEMS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

In 1790 there were only seven cities in America having more than 8000 inhabitants. They were Philadelphia; New York; Boston; Charleston, South Carolina; Baltimore; Salem, Massachusetts; and Newport, Rhode Island. Of approximately 4,000,000 inhabitants 95 per cent lived on farms or in little villages and towns. Then, as you know, came the great drift from country to town and from town to city. The result was that in 1930 there were approximately 1800 communities of 5000 or more inhabitants.

With these changing conditions came decided changes in local government. The simple form of town or county government was inadequate to manage the complicated affairs of hundreds of thousands or even millions of people. As the cities grew, therefore, new kinds of city government arose, too.

In most cases both the town and the county forms of government were more or less copies of the English form of local government to which the various colonists had been accustomed in their homeland. The same thing was true of the first city governments. In England trading and manufacturing communities grew to considerable size at various points within townships and counties. As they became large, the government gave them separate charters, granting them the power of self-government. These independent communities were first called boroughs.

As similar communities grew up in America their people

(British) tended to set up the same kind of governing arrangements which they had known in England; that is, they called the closely settled communities within a county or a township boroughs.

The first American boroughs were granted charters by the governor of the colony as the representative of the British crown. The first to acquire such a charter was New York, in 1686.

In the New England colonies there were no boroughs, however, for there the system of town government was regarded as adequate for their needs.

Where the English system of borough government was followed closely in the organization of colonial government, there was a common council which included the mayor, the recorder, the aldermen, and the councilors. The mayor's functions were similar to those of the English mayor; he was the presiding officer of the council and head of the borough government. Nevertheless he had little independent executive power. The aldermen and councilors were usually elected by the voters of the borough and were the real governors of the community.

After the Revolution, the name *borough* was gradually replaced by the more American term *city*. The power of selecting the mayor was taken away from the governor and given to the council or to the voters themselves. New city charters were granted by the state legislature. By 1825 the council of most cities had become a twofold body known as the board of aldermen and the common council. The new idea of division of powers, which had been adopted in the Federal government, was used in city government. The position of mayor was separate from the council, and he was given certain independent powers.

From 1825 to about 1870 cities grew steadily. As more people came to them, more and more territory was included within their boundaries. At the same time, two changes occurred:

First, little communities which had long been independent governments were merged with the growing city.

Second, the work of the city government became more complex and diverse. New departments or branches of government were established and separate boards were selected to take charge of them. Among these were the board of education, the board of

park commissioners, a public library board, a health and sanitary board. Frequently these were given separate power to govern themselves, independent of the mayor and the aldermen or the city council.

The result of this piecemeal growth of cities produced by 1900 truly a chaos. There were innumerable boards and commissions. Consequently, overlapping of one department upon another was frequent. The park board infringed on the board of public works, the board of public works overlapped onto the water-works board. The result was a hodgepodge of government.

At the same time the system of government grew so complex that it became a perfect target for the spoilsman and the corrupt politician. As we showed in *A History of American Government and*

Culture the professional politicians took control of government all over the country. In many cases money was spent without proper planning, and much of it went into the pockets of the local politicians. In others notorious rings were organized which ran the city government.

You may recall that as early as 1870 one corrupt ring under the gang leadership of William Marcy Tweed, a member of the state legislature, robbed the New York City treasury of about \$75,000,000. Other dishonest political bosses made themselves and their friends rich at the expense of St. Louis, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, Chicago, Minneapolis, and other large and rapidly growing communities. Scarcely a city escaped. We could fairly draw the conclusion that the growth of large cities was every-

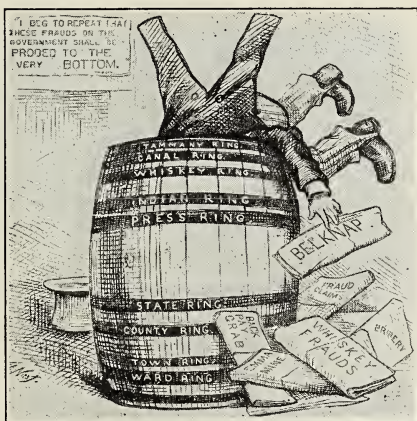


Fig. 96. This cartoon illustrates how difficult it was in the 1870's to "investigate the various city rings." (From *Harper's Weekly*, March 25, 1876)

where accompanied by dishonesty and inefficiency in government. As cities grow still larger will this continue to be true?

ATTEMPTS AT REFORM

In the latter years of the nineteenth century the demand for reform of city government spread all over the country. One



FIG. 97. This cartoon illustrates the fact that office-holders paid money to keep their jobs. Such cartoons aided the reform movement. (From *Puck*, July 21, 1880)

political ring after another was broken up. Grafters were ousted from office, and some of the leaders were sent to prison. In various places "reform" mayors and aldermen were elected to take the places of those removed.

Many cities established a civil service which examined all applicants for jobs and appointed employees on proved merit instead of political favoritism.

Moreover, improvements were made in the form of government. In one city after another, the hodgepodge govern-

ment was replaced by a single small unified body, frequently called the city council. Many independent boards and commissions were abolished and their work brought under the central government as a department. As these improvements took place, the office of mayor became more and more powerful. A mayor was permitted to appoint many committees, boards, commissions, and heads of departments, and he acquired great power of lawmaking.

By 1900 considerable improvement had been made in the chaotic city governments.

THE TYPES OF CITY GOVERNMENT IN COMMON USE TODAY

The mayor-council type is most prevalent in our cities

Under this plan one chief official, the mayor, is elected to direct the affairs of the community. He is aided by a council, the members of which are sometimes called aldermen. There are, also, various administrative officials and boards.

Taken all together these officials comprise the government of the community. Its principal divisions are :

1. The legislative division (aldermen, councilmen, or commissioners), which makes the laws.

2. The executive division (mayor, clerk, treasurer, engineer, assessor, heads of departments, and other employees), which carries them out.

3. The judicial division (judges and other officers of the courts), which interprets them, that is, decides what they mean.

Look at the chart of figure 99. It shows you the simple outlines of this plan but it cannot really show you how complicated is city government today. There are scores of legislators, heads of departments, assistants, engineers, clerks, draftsmen, stenographers, mechanics, and laborers. It is, indeed, a great business enterprise.

There are many defects in this system. Here are a few of them :

1. It does not choose officials who are trained and experienced in governing.

2. The emphasis is on candidates' politics rather than on business experience, and the city government is necessarily largely a business enterprise.



FIG. 98. Members of city rings hiding from the storm of public disapproval after the reform movements were launched. (From *Harper's Weekly*, February 17, 1872)

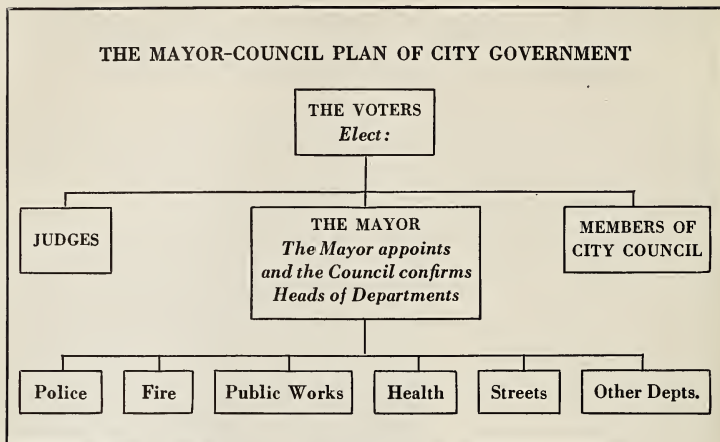


FIG. 99

3. The division of authority promotes friction between the different branches of local government and creates a lack of unity. There are too many loopholes for boss rule and machine politics.

4. In such a complex system it is almost impossible to fix responsibility and to prevent dishonesty.

THE GALVESTON DISASTER BROUGHT ABOUT THE TRIAL OF THE COMMISSION PLAN OF GOVERNMENT

In 1900 a tidal wave tore over the sea wall and flooded the city of Galveston, Texas. Millions of dollars' worth of property was destroyed, and many people were drowned. The city was without lights, water, or sewage service. Streets were torn up and buildings were demolished or washed from their foundations. Factories, offices, and stores were ruined. Most of the people were small wage-earners and suffered severely from the loss. Starvation and disease followed in the wake of the tidal wave.

Effective relief agencies were urgently needed to help the people in their emergency. Private societies and individuals donated money for food and clothing, and did all they could to relieve suffering. But to rebuild the city demanded a strong central government. It soon became clear that the men whom

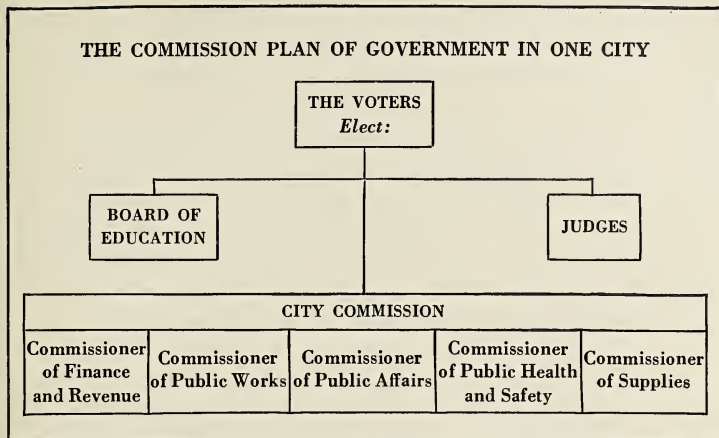


FIG. 100

the people had elected to run the city under the mayor-council plan of government lacked ability to meet the gigantic problems that faced the city.

In the dire emergency a small body of thoughtful citizens worked out a new plan of government and persuaded the people to try it. The plan, which became known as the commission plan, proposed to abolish the control of political parties over the city and provided for a commission of trained business men to run the government. Each man, chosen because of his experience and skill in managing a business, was to be head of one broad department of the government. Adequate salaries were to be paid. Thus government by experienced and trained experts was being proposed to take the place of government by politicians.

This new plan of government was adopted in Galveston, and for the first commission five business men were elected. The skill which they had in their own businesses enabled them to run the business of city departments more efficiently than had the former leaders. Each man devoted all his time to running his department in the best manner possible. They met together daily, discussed matters, passed the necessary laws, and in a short time order was reestablished in Galveston.

Owing to its success there, the commission plan was adopted by Houston, Texas, in 1905. Dallas, El Paso, Fort Worth, and other Texas cities soon followed. The Texas Plan, as it came to be known, was discussed widely throughout the country. In 1907 four other states, Iowa, Kansas, North Dakota, and South Dakota, passed laws allowing cities to adopt commission government. For a while the plan spread swiftly over the country.

After a few years, however, the enthusiasm of the people for a commission form of government began to wane. It was seen that the plan had defects as well as merits. The two columns below succinctly sum up both its merits and its defects.

SUMMARY OF MERITS AND DEFECTS OF THE COMMISSION PLAN

| MERITS | DEFECTS |
|--|---|
| 1. It improves on the mayor-council plan by concentrating responsibility in a few persons. | 1. It lacks a single head to make final decisions. |
| 2. It provides a scheme of government that the ordinary citizen can understand. | 2. It has failed to make sufficient use of experts — the layman at the head of the department often deals with matters that are beyond him. |
| 3. It is based on the principle that city government is a business affair. | 3. It is not really representative; some parts of the city are often without representation. |
| 4. It promotes harmony, promptness, and publicity in the municipal service. | |
| 5. It tends to elect more efficient public servants. | |

THE CITY-MANAGER PLAN

By 1917 some cities which had tried the commission plan had returned to the mayor-council system, while others adopted the city-manager plan, which was coming to the fore as "the newest and best thing in city government."

The earliest example of the city-manager plan which we have been able to find was that of Staunton, Virginia, 1907. Staunton could not adopt the commission plan because of a barrier in the state constitution. Undaunted by this, a new idea was evolved — putting the city business under a trained and experienced manager. The responsibility of the strictly business functions of

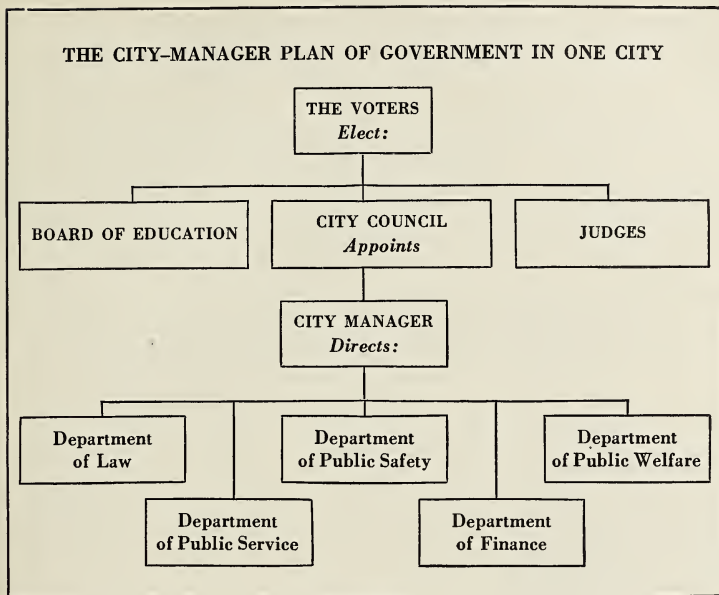


FIG. 101

the community was to be assumed by him, and he was to be employed by and be subject to the city council. He was to make all contracts for labor and supplies, and was to assist the council in making up the budget of expenses for running the community.

This plan appeared to be a real improvement over the commission plan, and other small cities tried it. Sumter, South Carolina, adopted it in 1912, as did Hickory and Morgantown (North Carolina) shortly after. But it remained for another great crisis, that in Dayton, Ohio, to secure for the plan nation-wide attention.

The city-manager experiment of Dayton, Ohio, 1913

While the commission plan and the city-manager plan were being tried in various parts of the country, considerable interest had been aroused in them in Dayton, Ohio. Under the leadership of John H. Patterson, who was the president of the National Cash Register Company, progressive citizens were arousing the

people to improve their disorganized city government. By 1912 a Committee of One Hundred was working at the task of designing a new city government along the lines of the commission plan.

On March 23, 1913, the Miami River overflowed its banks and flooded the city, devastating property and rendering thousands of people destitute. Immediately there was a call for a strong emergency government. The Committee of One Hundred stepped in and, after successfully conducting the work of relief of the sufferers, within two months put through a campaign for a new commission-manager government. A new charter was secured, and the city-manager plan was definitely launched in the city.

The form adopted in Dayton was organized on a twofold basis: (1) there was to be a commission to make laws, to appoint the city manager, and to discuss plans for improving government; (2) there was to be a city manager to run the business of the city. A valuable example was also set in the way the first city manager was chosen. The commission sent out inquiries all over the United States, asking for recommendations for the man best fitted for the responsible job. Mr. Henry Waite, an engineer of wide experience, was chosen.

Here, at last, was an example of running the business of a large city according to the best principles of business efficiency. Immediately many improvements were made. City employees were chosen by means of a civil-service "merit rating" rather than by "political pull." Supplies used by various city departments were purchased openly at low wholesale prices from the lowest bidder rather than secretly at high retail prices from friends of the political organization. So successful was the new city administration that at the end of the first ten-year trial of the city-manager plan a long list of improvements had been achieved. A few of the conspicuous examples can be enumerated. By this plan the government

1. Reduced the cost of garbage collection from \$2.60 to \$1.60 a ton.
2. Placed the waterworks on a paying basis.
3. Organized the Health Department on a modern basis, including the provision of medical inspection in the schools and a staff of five city physicians to serve the poor who were ill, either in their homes or in public clinics.

4. Installed a modern accounting system and a scientific budget.
5. Established a centralized purchasing department and operated a centralized store system.
6. Reduced the infant death rate from 124 per 1000 to 67 per 1000.
7. Introduced a modern parole system for workhouse prisoners.
8. Established a home for dependent girls.
9. Established a crime-prevention bureau and a bureau of police-women.
10. Established a free legal-aid bureau with an attorney paid by the city.
11. Motorized the entire fire department and established a fire-prevention bureau, thus increasing safety and reducing insurance rates.
12. Established a Civic Music League under whose auspices leading artists could be heard at popular prices.¹

This was an important experiment in improving city government. By the end of 1913 eleven cities had adopted the plan. Since that time twenty or more cities have changed over to it each year. In 1928 there were 361 cities operating under the system in the United States and seventeen in Canada. Of these, however, only ten had more than 100,000 in population. Thus far the plan has been more successful in smaller communities than in large cities. Since the banner year for the adoption of the plan (1921, with 49 adoptions), fewer communities have changed to this plan. Whether it is a temporary or a permanent wane in interest remains to be seen.

SUMMARY OF MERITS AND DEFECTS OF THE CITY-MANAGER PLAN

MERITS

1. It selects the expert, — not necessarily a local man, — the best man for the job.
2. It improves the administration of city business.
3. It centralizes responsibility and unifies the work of the city departments.
4. It introduces better budget-making and accounting, centralizes and economizes the purchase of supplies, etc.

DEFECTS

1. It may not be free from political and party influence.
2. The city manager is a technical business executive. He should, but does not always, have associated with him real leaders in statesmanship.

¹ These facts are from R. R. Woodruff's "City Manager Plan," *American Journal of Sociology*, January, 1928.

THIS, THEN, IS A BRIEF STORY OF COMMUNITY
GOVERNMENT

Our narrative has taken us from the simple, direct, open town meeting to the complex, secret city government. One fact has stood out prominently : American civilization has changed greatly but government has not changed to keep pace with it. A few communities are experimenting with new and progressive plans, but most American towns and cities, large and small, are struggling to govern themselves by methods long outworn.

Important questions still confront us, therefore. Who, for example, really governs our communities? What part does the professional politician still play in government? These questions are very important and we shall consider them in the next chapter.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET
ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

See the readings listed in Chapter XI.

CHAPTER XI¹

THE REAL GOVERNMENT OF THE COMMUNITY

We here highly resolve . . . that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom — and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.—ABRAHAM LINCOLN, "Gettysburg Address," November 18, 1863

The real problem of government

Are not Lincoln's immortal lines a complete statement of the need for democratic government in every American community — namely, a government that shall be "*of the people, by the people, for the people*"? Should there not be a government through which the collective needs of all the people will be satisfied? A government under which all the people will be informed of the needs of the community, and will choose representatives intelligently and judge their actions thoughtfully?

As we have seen, that kind of government could be achieved in some of the early town meetings, but how difficult it was to realize Lincoln's ideal even in his own day! By that time, towns and cities had already become so large that it was hard for voters to know who were the best people to elect to office. There were many communities of more than 25,000 in population, and one city, New York, had already reached the million mark.

The urban conditions of today make the attainment of Lincoln's ideal almost impossible

Since Lincoln's day the ideal democratic government has become even more difficult to realize. Although there are many small communities, increasingly there are larger ones which contain tens of thousands, even millions, of people. In most of these the voters know only a small fraction of the total popula-

¹ The treatment of community government in Chapters X and XI is based upon the investigations and reports of W. B. Munro, Charles E. Merriam, Charles A. Beard, C. C. Maxey, F. R. Kent, C. R. Woodruff, C. E. Rightor, and John Fairlie.

tion and scarcely ever those who seek office. Some citizens live 35 miles from others in the same community. What they learn either of candidates or community problems is usually obtained through garbled newspaper accounts, through conversations with other people, and through campaign speeches and pamphlets

which give only one side of the argument. Under these circumstances what do you think the average citizen can know of the relative merits of the candidates or the needs of the government in the community?

Moreover, each person spends most of his waking hours looking out for his own personal affairs. Men are busy with their work; women are busy caring for their homes and children or attending to their work outside the home. The tasks of earning a living, keeping a home, and bringing



FIG. 102. This comic strip illustrates what some people think happened when the average citizen lost interest in politics and failed to exercise his right to vote. (Orr in the *Chicago Tribune*)

ing up children occupy much of the time and thought of men and women. If the problems of government are considered at all, they are thought of during leisure time or when an emergency arises.

For example, Mr. and Mrs. Average Voter are reminded of government only at various intervals. It may be just before election day or when the taxes for a new sewer system or the opening of a new street fall due. Occasionally it may be brought to their attention when they drive their automobile at too great a speed and are arrested and fined. As a matter of fact, people

remember government whenever it touches their own lives. During the intervals which follow, it is very remote from them.

Most of the problems of government are far deeper and more far-reaching than these personal matters, and they really do affect each and every one of us. But because they do not affect us today, at this moment, we are less concerned about them. So in actual government, laws are passed of which Mr. Average Voter never learns until he faces a real problem, vital to himself.

For example, suppose such a question as this came before the community: Should the town pass a law that all taxicabs contain the photographs and license numbers of drivers? Does that concern Mr. Average Voter much? He seldom uses a taxicab. He does not understand what is to be gained by having a photograph of a driver inside a taxicab. Other people know more about this than he does. Let them take care of it, he says.

Or the question may arise: Shall the town give a franchise to a new bus line? Mr. Average Voter doesn't care much; the bus will run on the other side of the town anyway. It won't affect him or his family. So he lets someone else attend to it.

Because thousands of other average voters reason the same way, we have the growing indifference to matters of government as shown by Tables XX and XXII (see page 266). Table XX gives the facts relating to the entire country for national elections. Compare them with the facts of Table XXII, which gives similar facts for one community. Do not both of them show that there are fewer people interested in matters of government today than formerly?

The discussion thus far has illustrated the difficulties of setting up truly representative government today, one which will be "*of the people, by the people, for the people.*" Let us see further what are the factors which are creating these difficulties. They are very complex, and we must study them carefully, for it is upon them that our community government depends.

TABLE XX

| PER CENT OF VOTERS IN THE UNITED STATES CASTING BALLOTS AT PRESIDENTIAL ELEC- TIONS, 1890-1920 | |
|--|------|
| 1896 | 90. |
| 1904 | 67.6 |
| 1912 | 62.9 |
| 1920 | 49.3 |

THE THREE HUMAN FACTORS IN COMMUNITY GOVERNMENT

First, let us think of the people of a community in a three-fold way :

1. The rank and file of the people.
2. The interested groups of the community.
3. The politicians.

Each of these three groups wants something of the community government. Let us see what it is that they want.

1. The people themselves and what they want

First, there are the common people. These are the average voters. These have the final power ; they cast the ballots which legally elect or dismiss officials. What do they want from community government ?

They want essentially what the signers of the Declaration of Independence, the Fathers of the Republic, said that all men should have — life, liberty, and a chance for happiness. They want their houses protected against fire and thieves, their lives against murderers. Their health must be protected by good water systems, pure food, clean streets, parks, and playgrounds. They want other things which add to their comfort and safety ; for example, good traffic laws, uninterrupted railroad and motor-truck service, quick means of communication by mail, telegraph, and telephone ; cheap and uninterrupted gas and electric-light service ; good schools for their children ; low taxes on their houses. They want to be assured that the things they buy are reasonably guaranteed as to condition, quality, and amount.

In addition, many of them want special favors. They want city jobs, they want protection when they get into trouble with the traffic police or are brought into court for one reason or another. They want special privileges for their businesses, their houses, their families, or their friends.

2. The interested groups and what they want

Recall, first, the chief groups which we have studied : *first*, the economic groups — the labor unions, the chambers of commerce, the Rotary and Kiwanis clubs ; *second*, the manifold fraternal and social groups ; *third*, the civic clubs, the neighborhood improvement organizations, and other groups organized to secure legislation and to promote the worth of life in the community ; *fourth*, the churches and other religious groups ; *fifth*, the patriotic and memorial societies ; *sixth*, the immigrant groups ; and, finally, a long miscellaneous list of organizations.

Each of these separate groups has its special interests ; each wants something from the community gov-

ernment. A committee from a certain neighborhood group may ask the city council for more electric lights on their streets, for additional policemen, for a neighborhood park, or for repairs to the roads. A religious group may ask that theaters be closed on Sundays. The patriotic and memorial societies may ask that a monument be erected by the city to commemorate some person or event. Thus in one way or another these organizations have special interests which they want the government to satisfy.

In addition, there are other groups with special interests which they want protected by government. On the one hand, there are the employer groups — manufacturers, bankers, contractors, and owners of public utilities ; on the other, the employee group —



FIG. 103. This cartoon illustrates one artist's idea of the strength of the people and of some of the interested groups. (*New York Herald and Review of Reviews*)

the workers in the trades and industries. Each of these has its special interests and desires.

Note a few examples: The bankers want control over the sale of city bonds. The real-estate men want to sell land to the city. The contractors want contracts from the city for the erection of buildings or the making of roads. The manufacturers want to sell their products to the community. The owners of

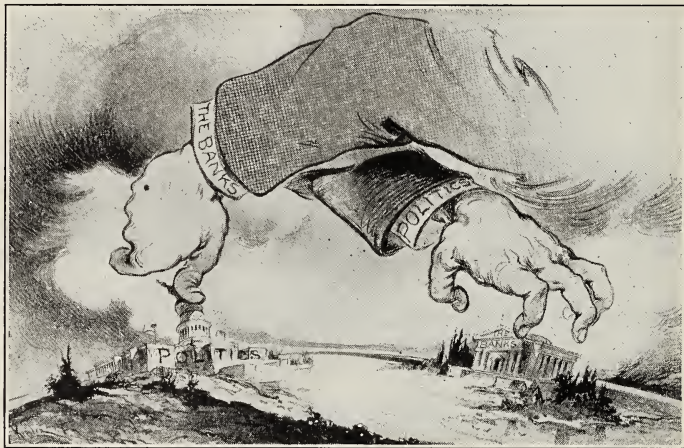


FIG. 104. This cartoon appeared at a time when many people were demanding Federal control of the banks. What two big ideas does the drawing illustrate? (From *Puck*, August 20, 1913)

public utilities, such as the car lines and the gas and electric plants, want to have their rates raised. The labor-union leaders want regulations protecting the health and safety of workers.

You can see that the various special groups want something from the community government. Furthermore, since each one is an organization of some kind, it has power with the government. For this reason it often succeeds in satisfying its desires.

3. The politicians and what they want

The third body consists of the professional politicians, those who devote themselves to the business of governing the community.

What do they want? First, like everyone else, they want a living; they want money, better homes, automobiles, more recreation, a better education for their children. Second, they want power; they want to remain in control of the government. So they devote themselves to winning the approval and keeping the confidence of enough voters to maintain themselves in office.

We see, therefore, three bodies which influence the government. Each of these has power over the government. The people have the final power of votes. The organized groups have the power of money. The politicians have the power of position in the government. All three have wants to satisfy, and all three look to the government to satisfy them.

THE PROFESSIONAL POLITICIANS FORM THE ONLY GROUP NOW PREPARED TO CARRY ON THE GOVERNMENT

In the rapid growth of modern towns and cities community government has been taken over by professional politicians. No doubt in your study of American history you have followed with interest the dramatic story of the rise of the political parties. Since 1800, indeed, the history of *all* government in America has been essentially the story of the struggle between political parties, and the rise and fall of professional politicians. Great political-machine organizations were built up all over the country. It is these machines that really control government in the communities of our country.

To understand the government of American communities, therefore, we must understand how the politician works and how his machine operates. One student of politics has said:

Lack of an accurate and clear conception of the party machine . . . means hopeless and helpless political bewilderment. The voter who has not that has nothing upon which to base political knowledge. . . . He is like a small child in the dark.¹

Let us study these political organizations to see how the professional politicians control them. Let us see the precinct-leader, the ward-leader, and the city boss at work. Then we shall be

¹ Frank R. Kent, *The Great Game of Politics*, p. 343. Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York, 1930.

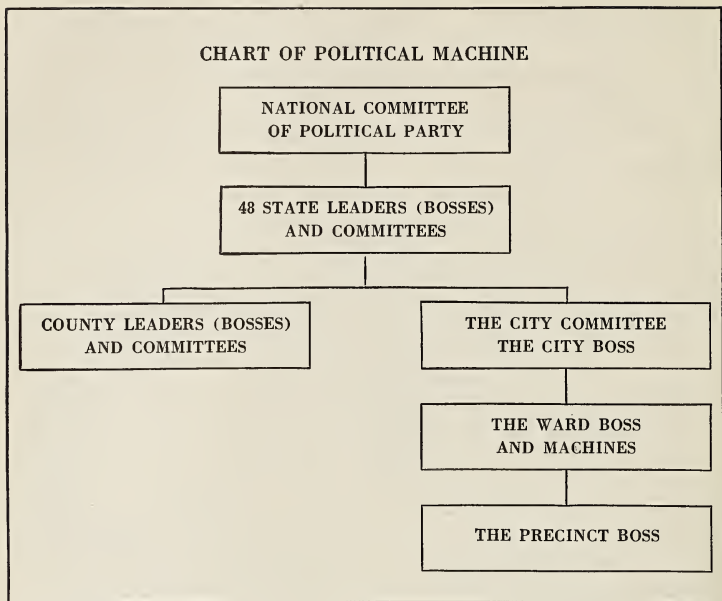


FIG. 105

in a better position to understand the difficulties of obtaining, in our cities, government "of the people, by the people, for the people." As you read the description of the machine, refer occasionally to the chart of figure 105. It will help to make the matter clear.

THE POLITICAL MACHINE OF AN AMERICAN COMMUNITY¹

The political machine of a community today can be understood best in terms of the parts played by three types of leaders. The city is divided into wards ranging in size from about 8000 to 18,000 inhabitants; each ward is divided into precincts of about 600 people. Over each precinct there is a leader called the precinct boss. Over each ward is a leader called a ward boss. Directing the whole political machine of the city is the city boss.

¹This account is based in part upon Frank R. Kent's *The Great Game of Politics* (Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York, 1930).

1. The precinct-leader

The smallest political division in a community is the election precinct. It averages about 600 voters. Its leader is

... the smallest unit in the party machine. While he is the smallest he is also, by long odds, the most vital. There are about 250,000 of him in the country. He is the bone and sinew of the machine. He is its foundation and the real source of its strength. If he does not function, the machine decays. If he quits, the machine dies.¹

"I don't know him!" you may say.

That does not matter; he knows *you*. He connects you with the machine. You are on his record; he knows where you live, how old you are, what you do, and whether or not you vote in the primary as well as in the general elections.

His very job depends on knowing about you and about the other 599 voters in his precinct. His main task is to see that the machine candidate wins in the primary election. If he is successful the machine man becomes a candidate in the final election. If he can get about a tenth of the voters to vote in the primaries he is fairly sure that the machine candidate's name will appear on the final ticket at the general election.

How the leader gets the votes

But how does the precinct executive get the necessary tenth of the votes? He and his relatives will probably poll five votes for the party. The relatives of the two judges and the clerk of elections will swell the number to twenty. With this nucleus of twenty votes, the leader has various means of securing the rest. With the money he gets from the ward executive for election expenses he hires at least two runners and messengers. The votes of their family put the total up to 35. In addition there are probably officeholders living in the precinct, who belong to his party. They may also vote for the machine candidate.

Thus in one way or another the precinct boss gets out enough votes so that his candidate can win. Sixty-five votes to a pre-

¹ Frank R. Kent, *The Great Game of Politics*, p. 1. Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York, 1930.

cinct are estimated to be a safe minimum. Multiply that by the number of precincts in a city, and you have a good idea of the fighting strength of the smallest part of the machine — the precinct organization.

Precinct-leaders are appointed by the ward-leader, who is the next highest boss. They may be small officeholders or young lawyers eager to break into politics or owners of small stores in the neighborhood. The leader is in politics for what he hopes to get out of it — generally, a more powerful political job.

The precinct-leader works among the mass of the people, in the middle-class and poor districts. He does little favors for the common people, who repay him by voting for his candidate.

2. The ward-leader

The next step up the political ladder from the precinct-leader is the ward executive. Ward executives reach their position through hard work and ability.

Since the average ward contains from fourteen to thirty precincts, with a total of from 8400 to 18,000 voters, the ward-leader has real power in the city. It is estimated that to keep control of his ward the typical ward executive must control about 1300 votes, that is, the 1100 of his eighteen precincts combined with the 200 he can get himself through family connections or political prestige. When he does not control this many, he counts on the failure of other people to vote, as does the precinct-leader. He and his precinct-leaders see to it that the machine vote always registers and always votes. Kent says of that :

Even in the wards exclusively populated by the rich there are always votes the machine can get in a primary — chauffeurs, maids, watchmen, and workmen, who belong to the ward clubs and follow the executives. I know of one big office building in Baltimore where every one of the thirty charwomen, the eight elevator girls, the night watchmen, and the superintendent were all put in their jobs by "Frank" Kelly, on recommendation from ward executives, to whom they were recommended by precinct executives.¹

¹ Frank R. Kent, *The Great Game of Politics*, p. 37. Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York, 1930.

Such people can be depended upon to vote as desired, for their daily bread depends upon the machine.

The ward club. In every ward in the larger cities and in many of the smaller ones the political machine has a headquarters club. Independent party members as well as those of the machine belong to these clubs. They have on an average from 400 to 600 members.

The clubs are social as well as political organizations. There are rooms for reading and other recreations and a large room for political meetings and balls. Here the ward boss meets the precinct-leaders and his other subordinates. Here also he provides entertainment for the people of the neighborhood—dances, lectures, games, and the like. In this way the

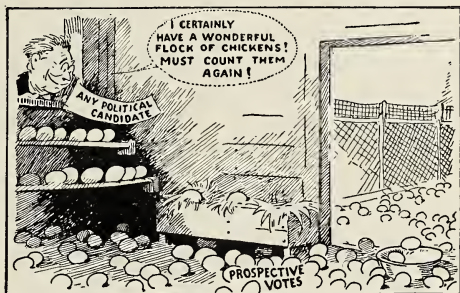


FIG. 106. The ward-leader can usually "count his chickens before they are hatched." (Courtesy of the *Chicago Daily News*)

club is an important means through which the ward-leader is able to know the people in his ward and to influence their votes.

The ward-leader's power to select candidates. Candidates to the city council, to the state legislature, and to Congressional districts are selected from the wards as well as from the larger political divisions. The ward-leader has great power in the selection of candidates. Kent tells how it is done :

What he does is to decide on his man, take him "down town," introduce him to the [city] boss, and say, "Here he is. I will be responsible for him." The boss shakes hands and that is all there is to it. The candidate announces himself, the ward indorses him, the machine swings in behind him, and in nine cases out of ten he is nominated and elected.¹

What the ward-leader gets. The ward executives naturally get more than the precinct-leaders. Their responsibility and their

¹ Frank R. Kent, *The Great Game of Politics*, p. 54. Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York, 1930.

services are greater. Many hold political jobs of one sort or another with salaries that range from \$2000 to \$8000 a year. If they happen to be in businesses of their own, their political influence helps them sell their goods or get contracts from the city. Furthermore, they are given bigger sums than the precinct-leaders for election expenses. What they do not spend they may keep, and no questions are asked.

On election day. The ward-leader rushes from one precinct to another, helping the weaker districts, checking up on the voters, and watching for signs of disloyalty in the workers. If the fight is hard he is doubly busy, for supporters must be brought to the polls somehow.

3. The city boss

At the head of the political machine of the community is the city boss. It is to him that the ward bosses report and from him that they take orders. He is generally the most influential person in the government of the community. When large special interests want privileges from the city government they must go to him. When a person wants to run for an important office he must go to him. Of course he has power only so long as he and his ward-leaders and precinct-leaders can command a majority of the votes cast on election days. Public opinion when aroused can overthrow him as well as help him in office. But because of his machine and its close contact with the people of the city, he is truly a boss.

How the city boss rises to power

The strongest boss is the one who fights his way up from the bottom of the ladder. Most of the outstanding ones have done so — for example, Charles F. Murphy, of Tammany, and Frank Kelly, of Baltimore. Frank Kent has thus summed up the rise of the city boss:

Briefly, these are the stages through which the typical city boss of the professional kind goes on his way up:

From runner or messenger (assisting the precinct-leader) to judge or clerk in the precinct.

From judge or clerk to a small city job.

From the small city job to precinct executive and a better job.

From precinct executive to ward executive, real political power, and an influential and well-paid city job.

From ward executive he "spreads out" to a district leader, with strength in a number of wards besides his own.

From district leader he becomes the right-hand man of the boss, with his chance to make much money and wield big influence as the confidential agent and heir apparent.

And the next step takes him to the final goal — the boss-ship — which he may reach in one of two ways :

First, the boss may die or retire, and he easily and naturally takes over the management as the only logical leader in sight, or,

Second, he may quarrel with the boss — usually over a division of the money — split the machine, ally himself with a temporary independent, reform, or factional revolt, and beat him in a city-wide primary fight.¹

This, then, is the way a political worker rises to become the boss of a city political machine. From the outline we can infer that the fight upward might be a long one and not an easy one. Indeed, only the most powerful can win it.

What is it that gives the city boss his power? There are several factors, but three are most important: First, the political machine must have a real leader. When the members discover a leader, they give him almost unlimited power. Second, once he gets into power, the boss is accepted by the special-interest groups of the community as the most influential person in the government. These groups — the corporations and business men, the labor organizations, patriotic and memorial societies, and a host of others — transact business with him when they wish to get their special interests represented in the community government. Third, owing to his position, he receives much publicity from newspapers and other sources. This enhances his prestige in the community.

There are, of course, many kinds of bosses. Some are honest men of good education and good breeding who are sincerely interested in the business of government. There are bosses in the game for the love of it as well as for the sense of power which it gives. There are bosses who not only do not make money out of it, but who actually put money into it.

¹ Frank R. Kent, *The Great Game of Politics*, pp. 84-85. Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York, 1930.

On the other hand, there are dishonest bosses who go into politics to make money and to wield power over other men. These persons do not hesitate to engage in corrupt practices. They make government a disgrace and render communities unfit places to live in. There are cities in America today governed by such corrupt persons.

MONEY: ONE REASON FOR THE SUCCESS OF POLITICAL MACHINES

You are probably asking how it is possible for the machine to carry on its work. As you know, it costs large sums of money to conduct a political campaign. Many headquarters are maintained, halls, bands, and speakers are hired, and a vast amount of advertising is supplied. Stenographers and clerks must be hired and traveling expenses paid for many workers. Banners, placards, sample ballots, and stationery must be printed. On election day huge expenses, some legitimate and some that are not, have to be met. The result is that city political campaigns cost hundreds of thousands of dollars. In one of our large cities a political machine has raised and spent as much as \$1,000,000 in a single annual election.

Where does the money come from? It comes essentially from three main sources. Part of it comes from the officeholders who receive their jobs through the machine. The customary practice is for each officeholder to contribute a certain percentage of his salary to the machine campaign fund. It is estimated that in New York City receipts from this source frequently total more than \$250,000. Another share of it is contributed by the candidate himself, the proportion depending upon his wealth, his liberality, and the importance of the office for which he is running. Students of the question estimate that in our larger cities the candidates for mayor contribute at least \$5000. Those running for positions such as judge, clerk of the court, and the like, contribute from \$500 to \$2000 or \$3000.

The third source of income of the political machine is the voluntary contributions of the special groups in the community, — corporations, contractors, and other business and labor groups, — usually friends of the political party.

This campaign money is dispersed under the general direction of the city boss. From him and his lieutenants it is passed down through the organization. The ward-leaders receive a proportion to use in their respective wards. They in turn distribute parts to each of the precinct executives. It is a well-known fact that as the money passes down from the boss to the precinct executive some of it remains in the pockets of many of the individual leaders.

This, then, in mere outline, is the political machine of an American city. It is important to remember that in most communities there are two leading rival machines. Generally these are definite parts of the state and national Republican and Democratic parties. In rare instances they are independent of these parties. The selection of candidates for the government of American communities is chiefly in the hands of these two political machines.



FIG. 107. A cartoon illustrating the collection of campaign funds by a political party. (Courtesy of the *Memphis Commercial Appeal, Inc.*)

Can the machine be beaten?

Students of the matter tell us that it can. But it can be done only under the most favorable circumstances. When the political leaders of the machine are united and working closely together, the machine cannot be beaten. This is the judgment of our most critical students. And, indeed, most of the time the leaders *do* work together. Most of the time the people of the cities are indifferent and uninformed. For these reasons the political machines run the government of our communities.

Nevertheless, history shows that since it is made up of human beings the machine does not always work perfectly. There have

been recent instances in which popular independent candidates with enough money and good newspaper support, guided by persons of political experience, have nearly defeated the machine in spite of indifference on the part of the voters. Note, for example, what happened in the 1922 primaries in Baltimore :

On the Democratic side, out of 105,670 qualified and registered Democrats only 39,265 voted. Of this number the machine candidate, Bruce, got 19,402. Norris . . . who had split the machine badly in East Baltimore, where it is strongest, got 17,147. A little more money and newspaper support would have enabled Norris to beat the machine.¹

More than all else it is the indifference of the rank and file of the people that permits the machine candidate to win year after year. In one recent primary election only 65,000 voters cast their votes out of 195,000 eligible to do so.

Do not these facts raise serious questions of government for the American people to solve? Is it possible, for example, to inform the eligible voters of our communities of the needs of government? Is it possible to arouse in them a keen interest in exercising their right to vote and thereby to take an active part in the government?

EXAMPLES OF ACTUAL GOVERNMENT

Let us gather together the threads of our discussion. In the preceding pages we have shown the real problem of government in the complex community life of today. We have shown the three factors which are making the problem so complex: the rank and file of the people, the interested groups, and the politicians. We have seen what each one wants from the government. We have outlined the political machine which really controls that government.

In the limited space which is left we must study some examples of the actual government produced by these conditions. We shall be able to consider only two: first, government in Chicago, one of our largest cities; second, government in a typical small city.

¹ Adapted from Frank R. Kent's *The Great Game of Politics* (Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York, 1930), pp. 38-39.

1. Government in a great cosmopolitan city: Chicago¹*The mushroom growth of the city*

1830 . . . A tiny trading post of log huts at the southern end of Lake Michigan. 1930 . . . A huge metropolis of three and a third million inhabitants, the financial capital of the Middle West, serving more than 50,000,000 people.

This is the astonishing story of Chicago. Even in the 60 years since 1870 its population has grown from about 300,000 to over 3,300,000 (see Table XXI).

TABLE XXI

| THE SPECTACULAR GROWTH OF CHICAGO | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| | Population | Area in Square Miles |
| 1840 | 4,479 | 10.635 |
| 1870 | 298,977 | 35.756 |
| 1880 | 503,185 | 35.756 |
| 1900 | 1,698,575 | 190.638 |
| 1920 | 2,701,705 | 199.372 |
| 1930 | 3,376,438 | 210.613 |

Before 1850 native Americans year by year were attracted to the growing city by the lake. From the farms of the Middle West came the

sons and daughters of pioneer settlers. From the forests of the north-central and Northwest states, from the mines of Illinois and Indiana, came other people, attracted by the wages of the growing manufacturing industries.

As you know, each group tended to settle in neighborhoods of its own. The city at that time was a patchwork of nationalities and races, a crazy quilt of separated neighborhoods and isolated communities. In no sense was it a true unified community. Steadily, however, the great central city reached out and year by year included within its boundaries more and more of these little independent communities.

The "paper government" of this vast metropolitan region

As a result of the mushroom growth of this conglomeration of communities called Chicago, the "paper government," that is,

¹ Many of the facts in this brief account of the real government of American communities were supplied by Professor Charles E. Merriam's *Chicago, a more Intimate View of Urban Politics* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1929). For 28 years Professor Merriam was a close student of government in Chicago while on the faculty of the department of political science in The University of Chicago. For six years he was an alderman of the city. He is one of the outstanding authorities on city government in America.

the government established by the state, consists of eight independent bodies, which overlap one another and duplicate one another in control, lawmaking, and taxing. Professor Merriam calls it "an eight-ring circus."

In it are included the corporation of the city, governed by a mayor and city council; an independent board of education;



FIG. 108. This strip was drawn to show Chicago's financial tangle. Do you see a connection between this financial tangle and the city government? (Orr in the *Chicago Tribune*)

an independent public-library board; an independent board governing the sanitary district; an independent board for Cook County; and various other boards. In addition there are twenty other smaller and partially independent governments. Within these are small boards, departments, and other political subdivisions.

Over each of these districts, boards, and corporations, there is a governing body — an elected mayor, a city council, an appointed or an elected

county board, a sanitary board, a library board, etc. Each of these governs a portion of the city's manifold activities. Each of these is constantly involved in a struggle to satisfy the desires of groups, business firms, organizations, and individuals. Altogether it is a hodgepodge of 1600 governments! As Professor Merriam says, therefore, "the formal government, what I have called the paper government, is indeed a chaos."

How can the average citizen, concerned chiefly with his own personal affairs, hope to keep his eyes upon one or more of these eight principal governments, not to mention the total of 1600? How can the average citizen hope to understand and to keep in touch with the problems of government in this community?

*The conflict between groups and individuals produces the actual,
the "invisible," government*

Chicago, like every other large town and city, has its three powerful bodies — the great mass of voters, the special-interest groups, and the politicians. But with the mass of the citizens utterly bewildered by the complexity of government, the special-interest groups and the machine politicians carry on the real government of the great metropolis.

First, there are the civic societies — the City Club, the Women's City Club, the Municipal Voters' League, the League of Women Voters, the Union League Club, the Chicago Crime Commission, the Civic Federation, the Citizens Association. Each of these, either through committees or as a body, demands legislation and official action. A host of "improvement" societies also make their yearly demands for special appropriations and neighborhood improvements. These groups work through their committees and leaders and bring pressure to bear upon the city council and the various boards of the community. On the whole, the influence of these organizations makes for the improvement of community life.

Second, there are the labor groups, constantly striving to have their interests satisfied by the city government. These groups are powerful. Their membership totals not less than 500,000 members in organized unions such as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Women's Trade Union League, and the Building Trades Council. Because of their power their demands are considered very carefully.

Third, there is the employer group — the Association of Commerce, the Chicago and County Real-Estate Courts, the Commercial Club, the Commonwealth Club, the owners of department stores, street railways, gas and electric-light companies, and the like. The members of these groups are constantly looking out for their interests and trying to secure legislation and favors from the city government. Often these groups work vigorously for civic betterment when such improvements do not conflict with their personal interests.

There are other powerful groups — professional organizations,

religious organizations, racial and national groups — each with its special interests and desires. There is also the press, that is, the city newspapers, which is perhaps the most powerful group of all.

These special-interest groups begin reforms, secure the passage of new ordinances, stop the passage of ordinances which conflict with their interests, and work for appropriations for one thing or another. In short, these special-interest groups are always on the alert to protect their interests and get what they want from the community government.

How the work of government is carried on

Some of the work of government is conducted in full view of the public; some of it is carried on in secret. The actual passing of bills or ordinances is done in open meetings by each of the legislative branches of the city, the city council, and other governing bodies. Bills are proposed on the floor of the legislative rooms and turned over to committees for discussion and recommendation. When they are returned to the council — perhaps after weeks or months of delay — they are discussed openly and then voted upon. If the majority of the members favor the bill, it is passed and becomes the law of the city. This is the open, formal government of the city, carried on under the eyes of newspaper reporters, of representatives of the special groups of the city, and of any individual citizen who wishes to attend.

Much of the real governing, however, is done behind the scenes, out of the sight and hearing of the public. All bills of any importance are referred to appropriate committees. In the secret meetings of these committees, a decision is generally reached as to whether or not the bill should become a law. Whenever the consideration of bills demands technical advice from engineers, doctors, lawyers, or economists, experts in these fields are called before the committee. The decision of the committee comes before the council in the form of a recommendation that the bill be passed or not passed. Most bills are thoroughly revised in the committee meetings and are frequently killed — that is, the committee fails to make recommendations to the council.

Who suggests the bills which are considered by the council and its committees? Some bills are prepared by the mayor himself, who, for various reasons, wants to develop certain projects which are favored by his party. Others are proposed by the various departments of the city government, for example, by the departments of health or education, water or streets, fire or police. Still other bills are proposed by local organizations such as the Council of Churches, the Chamber of Commerce, the Real-Estate Board, or the like. Sometimes the newspapers give publicity to the need for new laws.

Irrespective of where the bill comes from, however, it must pass the scrutiny of the mayor, the council, and the invisible political machine behind the scenes. Thus experts declare that a bill does not become a law merely because the community as a whole wants it or needs it. It is passed only when the special-interest groups and the controlling political machine are willing to have it passed. Experienced members of city councils declare that if a proposed law appears to harm the interests of any powerful group, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to pass it.

Thus we see the personal character of the real, invisible government. This personal human character of the real government is well illustrated by the way in which aldermen spend their time. Although some of it is devoted to the lawmaking needs of the community, most of it is consumed in dealing with the personal problems of people within their own wards and neighborhoods.

Consider some examples: There is to be a wedding, a christening, a funeral, a dance, or a picnic of citizens in the alderman's home ward. He must either attend or send the necessary congratulations or condolences. Perhaps some poor people are about to be dispossessed of their home; the alderman must intercede for them and help them raise installments on the rent. Scores of groups and individuals besiege his office, asking for special favors. Each one of them must be dealt with as humanely as possible. A friend of a friend of the alderman, for example, has been arrested for speeding and needs help at court. The owner of a store wants to keep his business open on Sunday, even though to do so will violate a city ordinance.

Inevitably some of the demands made upon the alderman con-

flict with others; hence he must constantly arbitrate disputes. For example, the request of the storekeeper to keep his shop open on Sunday is opposed by a committee of the neighborhood church organization. The alderman must decide between two conflicting demands. The storekeeper is, perhaps, a precinct-leader in his political machine and controls quite a number of votes. But the church organization controls even more. So the alderman must adjust the matter as best he can to keep harmony

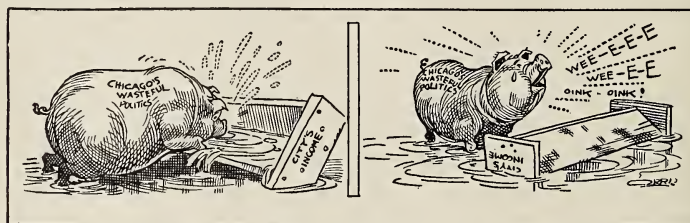


FIG. 109. The cartoonist used Chicago to illustrate one of the problems of city government, but the problem is one that faces many communities. What does the cartoon mean? (Orr in the *Chicago Tribune*)

among his friends and political subordinates and also to please the more powerful church group, which can defeat him at the next election if it decides to do so.

Space is lacking to portray more fully the community government of large cities. The story of Chicago's government can be duplicated in practically every large city of America. Details are different, but the general situation is similar. Enough examples have been given, however, to show that the real government is not the formal paper government; not what goes on in the public meetings of legislative bodies. The real government is the highly personal one which goes on behind the scenes all the time.

2. Government in a typical small city

Similarity of real government in small and large cities

On paper the government of the smaller community is a simpler affair than that of the large city. Since the population and area are smaller there is not so much overlapping of boards, commissions, and departments.

Nevertheless, real government is carried on in much the same way. The same three human factors determine the real government, and the fundamental conditions which we have described for the large city are approximately duplicated in the small community. Owing to increase in population and interests in the community, the average voter is uninformed concerning candidates or lawmaking needs. Since 1890 there has been considerable change in that respect. At that time, for example, it was common in small cities to distribute sample ballots to all voters, giving the names of *all* the candidates of *all* the parties. In the newspapers and in other sources, information was printed concerning the qualifications of candidates for office. In recent elections in most of the same cities, however, no sample ballots have been distributed, and almost no information has been given in the newspapers. Requests for sample ballots in one city were met by the direction that the voter should vote for all the candidates for his party by merely marking an X opposite the symbol of his party. The symbol of the Democratic party is the star; of the Republican party, the eagle; of the Socialist party, the torch; and of the Labor party, the hammer. The practice of merely putting an X opposite the party symbol is called voting "straight." Voting for candidates of more than one party is called "scratching the ticket."

In other ways the voters today in many communities are not only denied information but are actually confused. For example, instead of informing the voters concerning the real issues which are to be decided at the election and helping them to judge fairly the merits of candidates, political speakers urge the voters to "vote for our leading fellow citizen" or to vote for Mr. Z because he is a "man of the people," because he is "foursquare," or because he is "a real American." In a recent political campaign many speeches contained little more than "ridicule, sarcasm, and satire, and political condemnation" of the opposing parties.

Other changes since 1890 have made it increasingly difficult for a voter to cast his ballot intelligently. For example, although political reformers in many communities urge voters to choose carefully among the candidates of the parties and to vote for the best man irrespective of party, the politicians, aided by some of

the leading newspapers, try to persuade the voters to vote "straight." One newspaper said in a recent campaign: "No outstanding excuse exists for anyone to scratch the ticket."



FIG. 110. "Man overboard!" The bewildered voter tosses on the sea of politics while the ship of government rides on. (From the Saint Louis *Globe-Democrat*)

Furthermore, from more than one city come reports that voters are urged to use the new voting machines and are advised to "vote quickly." In some districts they were allowed only fifteen seconds to make their choices among hundreds of candidates for scores of offices. The only possible way in which this could be done in so short a time was to place the ballot in the machine and move the lever which marks a cross against a single political party—that is, to vote "straight."

The inevitable result of these changes in the community, in its government, and in methods of voting is the increasing bewilderment and indifference of the voter.

Table XXII shows the history of this increasing indifference in a typical small Middle Western city. In 1888 practically nine out of ten of the eligible voters cast their ballots, but in 1924 only

TABLE XXII¹

| PER CENT OF ELIGIBLE VOTERS OF A MIDDLE WESTERN CITY WHO CAST BALLOTS AT PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1888-1924 | |
|--|----------------|
| 1888 | 87 |
| 1892 | 86 |
| 1916 | 53 |
| 1920 | 46 |
| 1924 | 40 (estimated) |

two voters out of five took the trouble to go to the polls. Furthermore, these elections took place in years in which candidates

¹ Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown*, p. 417. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1929.

for national offices were elected — years in which there would be the greatest interest in political affairs.

Another reason for the increasing indifference to affairs of government is the recognition that there is much corruption in our political machine. In a survey of conditions in a Middle Western state, one investigator said: "It is probably safe to say that there is not conducted in this state, a city election without some sort of fraud — the buying of votes, the introduction of floaters or repeaters, or the falsification of the returns in some manner or other."

Even high-school students see that there is a lack of honesty in the way political campaigns are run. In the high school in one community, a group of 500 students were asked to mark the following statement "true" or "false": "Voters can rely upon statements of facts made by candidates in campaign speeches." As large a number as 87 per cent of the high-school students marked this statement "false." Only 5 per cent marked it "true."

SUMMING UP OUR BRIEF STUDY OF COMMUNITY GOVERNMENT

Two questions confront us: The first is Is it possible, under the present conditions of community life, to attain Lincoln's ideal, namely, government "*of the people, by the people, for the people*"?

In this and the previous chapters we have studied briefly examples of actual government from the little town to the huge city. We saw that in the small community direct face-to-face discussion of government *can* take place. In such a community it is possible for a majority of the citizens really to express their will. Hence in the very small communities government *can* be not only *of* and *for* the people, but also *by* the people.

But we have also seen the steady expansion of small communities into larger and larger ones. There is overwhelming proof that most communities will become larger. It seems that, whether we like it or not, the typical community of the future will be the *city*. Hence the great importance of the conclusion that stands out from our studies; namely, that as a community grows larger it becomes increasingly difficult for the average

citizen to understand the problems of government and to make intelligent decisions concerning them. So great does the difficulty become in the largest cities, that, in the judgment of experts, direct government *by* the people is impossible. That judgment raises the next important question: How can city government be set up which will be truly *of* the people and *for* the people?

Our best students of municipal government assure us that there is but one way to do it, and that is to introduce scientific methods into government, to turn the tasks of community government over to experts. Industries and business enterprises are increasingly being turned over to experts. The conclusion is that we must run government in the same way.

Students of the problem ask us bluntly —

Who is best qualified to direct the waterworks of a city — politicians or trained and experienced engineers and business men?

Who can best direct the health department of the city — doctors who happen to be members of a political machine or expert, trained, and experienced public-health officers?

Who is best equipped to direct the fire department or the police department? Chiefs appointed because of their loyalty to the machine or men who have made careful studies of the best methods of administering such departments?

Whom do we want to plan and direct our educational systems? Good vote-getters, persons who stand well with the citizens of the community, or trained students of civilization and the educational needs of children?

To whom shall we turn over the handling of the city's annual budget of millions of dollars? To an irresponsible political leader or to an expert on municipal finance?

These are but a few of the questions which our best students of government are bluntly asking the citizens of America. They all direct attention to the serious need of putting government on a scientific basis.

As we have seen in the brief historical sketch of Chapter X, steps in that direction are already being taken. The rapid adoption of the city-manager plan in many smaller cities and towns is a striking example of it. Illustrations abound of the economies and increased efficiency already achieved through the new plans.

We know well, however, that only a mere beginning has been made in the use of scientific methods in community government. Many problems remain to be solved. These we shall investigate in our further studies.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

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- CHURCHILL, WINSTON. *Coniston*. The Macmillan Company, New York. A novel dealing with New England's political life.
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- FORMAN, S. E. *The American Democracy*. The Century Co., New York. See Chapter IX, "Local Government"; Chapter XXII, "The State Judiciary"; Chapter XXIII, "The County"; Chapter XXIV, "The Township"; Chapter XXV, "The Town"; Chapter XXVI, "Municipalities."
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- KENT, F. R. *The Great Game of Politics*. Doubleday, Doran, & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York. See pages dealing with the political machine, the methods of bosses, candidates and their ways, and the primaries.
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CHAPTER XII

INTRODUCING THE STUDY OF LAW

Look at the headlines which appeared on the front page of an evening paper, as shown in figure 111. With what do they deal? In one way or another all but one of the columns deal with the law.

FIG. 111¹

One three-column headline deals with an investigation of the office of the district attorney, another headline reports the prosecution of a bank, two others deal with income taxes. A two-column headline is a record of an item about a will. Only one column deals with questions which have nothing to do with the law.

Turn through the pages of any city newspaper and note the examples which show how great a part law plays in the life of a community. Notices of births, marriages, divorces, the forming of new corporations, a great range of court cases,—from a suit for nonpayment of a debt to the murder of a respected citizen,—confront us.

¹ From the New York *Sun*, March 16, 1931.

Many conversations in the street, in neighborhood gossip, in the family, bear constant reference to the law. For example :

"I see Sam Wilson was arrested last night for forgery."

"John Martin has sued Tom Lawson for an accounting on his father's estate."

"Those men are violating the law, leaving their tools and lumber out on the sidewalk in front of that new McCarthy building."

"Jack Hanna has run away again. I understand they are going to send him to the reformatory this time."

"I wonder why they don't put a traffic cop at Myrtle Avenue and Seventh Street — one of the worst intersections in the city. Hardly a day passes but traffic gets all tangled up there."

So the talk runs, wherever people come together.

THE NECESSITY FOR SOCIAL CONTROL IN OUR MODERN CIVILIZATION

On every side we are surrounded by the law. It regulates where we walk, ride, and drive vehicles on the street. It protects the purity of the food we eat, and guarantees the quality of the household furnishings in our homes. It controls the buying and selling of goods, the cleanliness of streets and parks. Everything we do is hedged about in some way by the law.

As you already know, conditions were not always such as to require so much law. A hundred years ago, on the frontier, each family was a law unto itself. Pioneer families had no community to depend upon for protection; they did everything for themselves, and there was no need of laws to protect them. Furthermore, there were no written laws to restrain people from doing as they pleased. They could use their land as they liked, cut down the timber and build any habitation that suited their fancy, and carry and use firearms as they pleased. The only "laws" the pioneers had were the unwritten rules which they made for their own welfare and protection.

If each of us today lived by himself, there would be no occasion for laws, or for police, district attorneys, courts, and judges to enforce them. But in the complicated modern world, people live in groups. They live in communities, in rural hamlets, small

villages, towns, and cities. Hence today it is necessary to have rules — laws — and an elaborate system of justice to regulate how people live together.

Consider, for example, the hazards of life and property in the cities, hazards which compel communities to make and enforce laws in order that their citizens may be protected.

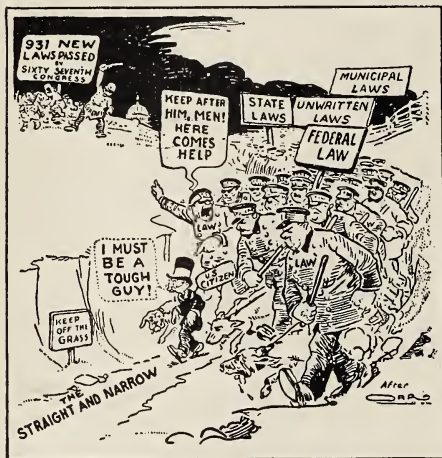


FIG. 112. Find the American citizen in this cartoon. On every side of him are laws to regulate his conduct and to protect him. (Orr in the *Chicago Tribune*)

Thousands of automobiles and hundreds of trolley cars glide swiftly through our crowded city streets, endangering pedestrians at every crossing. Beneath the streets lie dangerous gas mains, conduits for electric wires, and the electrically charged rails of subways.

Fourth, there is the menace of vice and crime. As cities have grown, gambling, drunkenness, murder, burglary, and robbery have increased. Much of this is due to the fact that the people no longer can know each person in the community and call him neighbor. Life in the city has become impersonal, and the danger of vice and crime has become an increasingly real one.

Against these and other dangers many laws have been passed

First, there is the danger from disease. A contagious disease may spread from family to family with amazing rapidity under the crowded conditions of city life.

Second, there is the danger from fire. In the cities where dwellings are set so close together that a wall often serves two buildings, fire may spread from dwelling to dwelling, causing great loss of life and property.

Third, there is the danger from accident.

to guard the citizens of the cities. Because of laws, persons having contagious diseases are isolated from others, and hospitals have been established to take care of them. Because of laws, buildings are erected with due thought to the possibility of fire, and well-organized fire departments respond to the first call for help. Because of laws, precautions have to be taken by citizens and by corporations to prevent all kinds of accidents that are avoidable. Because of laws, people living in the cities may not do such things as will interfere with or harm others living in the community. Police departments have been established to enforce these laws.

Even with all these laws, the dangers of city life are great. Disease is still communicated from one person to another, although the number of deaths from this cause is decreasing each year.

Fire still destroys one home in the United States every two minutes, and 28 people die because of it every day. Accidents too are frequent. As many as 96,000 lives were lost through accidents in 1928, and 28 per cent of this number were due to automobile accidents alone. Crime is responsible for a growing number of deaths. Evidently, it is a difficult thing to make life secure and peaceful in a vast country like ours.

Thus, in spite of thousands of laws and a vast system of police, courts, and prisons, many people suffer each year because of the dangers in our modern civilization.



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FIG. 113. This strip aims, in a humorous way, to show what might happen to the pedestrian were there no laws to regulate traffic

WHERE DID OUR PRESENT SYSTEM OF LAW AND ORDER
COME FROM?

Our system of lawmaking and law enforcement is nearly 1000 years old. It is based partly upon the English system, but it is also partly the result of the conditions which developed in America after 1600.

Generally speaking, law grew out of custom. What is custom? It is merely the general practices of a people. For example, in America we have the custom of saying "Good morning!" to people whom we meet, and "Good-by!" to those whom we leave. We walk on the right side of the sidewalk. Men take off their hats in the house, in church, and in restaurants. When such practices become sufficiently general among the people, they are called customs.

Now many of our laws grew out of these standardized practices, or customs. But sometimes there arises the need of a law, and there is no existing custom to take care of it. Immediate action must be taken. A new law is made. A new tariff law would be an example of such a case. Again, sometimes laws are passed to change original habits or customs. Then we have such laws as the pure-food laws.

But the great body of law under which we live and which protects our daily existence is the outgrowth of long-established habits and customs. Let us consider some examples of such law.

An example of how law grew out of the customary
practices of the people

An interesting example of the way in which law developed in America is that of the mining law, which grew out of the discovery of gold in 1848. Do you recall from your study of American history how by 1849 about eighty thousand people had rushed into the unsettled areas of California and the mountain regions thereabouts? Men came there from all over the world—from the Eastern states, from Mexico and Canada, from England and other parts of Europe, even from Asia.

As the miners poured into the territory, each staked out his claim according to the legal practices to which he had been accus-

tomed in his homeland. As you can readily understand, many different practices grew up almost immediately in that region. Since the territory was not yet a part of the United States, there was no national or state law to regulate the taking of land, the exchange of goods, the making of contracts, and other matters. There were no courts to decide disputes.

The miners gradually began to follow uniform practices, however, and these practices soon became fairly well established customs. The customs came to be known as the Miners' Common Law.

In 1850 California became a state of the United States. A legislature was elected which passed statutes, that is, written laws regulating ways of living together among people of the new state. Some of these statutes were simply written statements based upon the accepted common law or customs of the miners. Others were new rules of conduct. In the meantime, as mining developed all through the Western states, the United States Congress passed Federal laws which regulated many mining practices.

This example illustrates how, in a new country which lacks government, many of the customs of the people become law. It also illustrates how, as legal governments are set up and law-making bodies are established, written, legally authorized, statute law takes its place.

Another example — laws governing "probation"

Today, every state but Wyoming has laws providing for the release of youthful prisoners "on probation." Most of these laws were passed after 1900. It was only after private citizens had built up customs of releasing prisoners on probation that laws were passed. Let us see how the custom was built up :

As the story goes, John Augustus, a Boston cobbler, who apparently possessed deep humanitarian impulses, appeared before a judge in that city one day in 1849, and asked that a youth who was charged with drunkenness be released on bail, with the understanding that for a short time he should be subject to the unofficial guardianship and direction of the cobbler. This was permitted, and, according to the diary of John Augustus, the first probationer was not only saved from the evils of imprisonment but improved in his habits. "At the expiration

of his period of probation, I accompanied him to the courtroom. His whole appearance was changed and no one, even the scrutinizing officer, could believe that he was the same person who less than a month before had stood trembling on the prisoner's stand. The boy continued industrious and sober and without doubt has been from this treatment saved from a drunkard's death." So encouraged was John Augustus by this success that he began to apply his philosophy in other cases. In six months he had bailed seventeen persons and taken them under his care. During the next fifteen years, hundreds of men and boys and women and girls were watched over and assisted by him.¹

This example of John Augustus was followed by others in Massachusetts. Thus the *custom* of releasing prisoners on probation grew up. It was not until 1878, however, that the Massachusetts legislature passed laws making the probation system legal. Until 1899 this state was the only one with probation laws. After that time the plan was adopted in other states, until today, as already stated, every state except Wyoming has statute laws providing for juvenile probation.

In these two examples — the Miners' Common Law and the probation law — we see how practices become customs and customs become laws.

AMERICAN LAW WAS FIRST BASED UPON ENGLISH COMMON LAW

Until the time of the American Revolution, the people living in the thirteen colonies were officially and legally subjects of Great Britain. Hence their courts decided disputes according to the laws of England. To understand the basis of American law, therefore, we must glance back briefly at English law. Let us see how English common law grew up.

Think back to the England of, say, 1100 A.D. Life there was described in *Changing Civilizations in the Modern World*. The community life of those days was very simple. Government was simple. On the manors and in the villages the relations of people toward one another were largely regulated by the customs of the people.

¹ Raymond Moley, *Our Criminal Courts*, pp. 159-160. Courtesy of Minton, Balch & Company, publishers, New York, 1930.

Since human nature was essentially the same then as it is now, however, disputes arose. Sometimes these disputes were settled by force, the stronger man winning because of his strength. But gradually the custom had developed of having the person of greatest authority in the community act as the judge, or arbiter, of the disputes. By 1100 A.D. a system of royal courts had grown up in which the "king's justices" decided disputes. Their task



FIG. 114. An imaginary picture of the first trial by jury. Twelve respected Saxons are listening to the evidence on a murder. The accused stands guarded and bound, watching the effect of the evidence upon the jury

was to make decisions in the fairest way they could according to the customs of the region. In interpreting the customs of the people, these medieval justices were really lawmakers; that is, they interpreted customs and declared these customs to be the rules of conduct in the land.

Sometimes the justices engaged the services of other reputable citizens of the community to help them decide the customs of the land. That is, they drew juries of twelve "good and true men." After 1166 A.D. this also became part of the law system of England. This was really the beginning of the jury system.

Gradually, also, the decisions of the justices were written down and preserved. When new disputes arose on similar points,

the justices tended to turn to these earlier decisions and to make their own decisions somewhat in accordance with them. Thus, little by little, the practice grew up among the justices of "following precedent," that is, of deciding cases in accordance with the ruling of preceding decisions on similar disputes. In many instances, of course, the justices refused to follow the earlier decisions and worked out new rules for the new cases.



FIG. 115. A painting of a trial for witchcraft in Massachusetts near the close of the 1600's. Compare this scene with that shown in figure 116. (From a painting by T. H. Mattison. Courtesy of the Essex Institute, Salem)

Thus it was that *from the justices' interpretations of the customs of the people there developed the so-called common law of England*. This, as you can see, was essentially the accumulated decisions of justices covering many kinds of disputes.

When the thirteen colonies became the United States of America in 1783, therefore, the customs and laws under which the colonists had lived for a century and a half had already been made the basis of the American common law. They continued for some time to be the basis of the decisions of the American courts.

Gradually, however, common laws were supplemented by statute laws. (Statute laws are the laws which are passed by law-making bodies — state legislatures or the Federal Congress.) In some cases these were based on the common law; in other cases they were new written statements of law. Throughout our national history, the law of the land has continued to be in part the common law and in part the statute law.

Perhaps the simplest way to illustrate how these laws work out is to tell the story of two typical kinds of cases which come before our courts every day — first, a criminal offense; second, a civil action.

1. The story of a criminal offense

It is mid-afternoon of a hot summer day in a great city. Up and down an avenue of a middle-class neighborhood people are lazily strolling along. Nothing disturbs the quiet of the summer afternoon. A car, with its engine still running, is parked at a corner. Halfway down the block is a jewelry store, its shades pulled down, apparently to ward off the glare of the summer sun. Suddenly a loud shot is heard, and a man carrying a satchel is seen dashing through the door of the jewelry shop, down the street, and around the corner. Another man staggers out of the store after him, calling, "Stop!" But his cries are feeble. He runs a few steps and collapses on the sidewalk.

Meanwhile the street, on which a moment before everyone was intent upon his own business, suddenly becomes a scene of confusion. People run toward the jeweler. He moans feebly and blood pours from his forehead. The people crowd about or look around helplessly.

1. *The arrest.* One quick-witted boy dashes up the street and shrieks out his message to the officer on the beat. The policeman looks around, spies the parked automobile, whose owner has just returned to it. The thief is seen disappearing around another corner. The policeman mounts the running board of the car, orders the owner to pursue the robber, and they are soon speeding after him. After turning two corners the automobile is nearly abreast of the thief when he darts into an alley. The policeman jumps from the running board, revolver in hand, and

dashes in pursuit. Just as the man is about to disappear through a door, the policeman catches him. A tussle ensues, but it is short. At the sight of the policeman's revolver, the thief surrenders. Neither his own revolver nor his satchel are with him; somewhere along the route he has thrown them away.

The policeman arrests the man and takes him to the precinct station house to be locked up. Here the policeman tells what has happened and makes a charge against the man, who gives his name as Abel Norton.

2. *The preliminary hearing.* At the hearing next day, no one is on hand who can swear that it was Norton who ran out of the jeweler's shop. He protests his innocence and demands that the magistrate release him on "bail." A professional bondsman is on hand who offers to "go bail" for him. In this case the bail is set at \$5000. The bondsman guarantees, if Norton should run away, to pay the amount of money which the court demands, as an assurance that Norton will appear at the court when he is to be tried. The bondsman offers as security the deed to a house he owns worth more than that to guarantee payment of bail if Norton fails to appear for trial.

3. *Grand jury hearing.* Several weeks later Norton is notified that his case is to be heard before the grand jury. It is the duty of the grand jury to listen to the evidence which the district attorney (the prosecuting officer of the state) presents to them and to decide whether or not the accused person should be held and brought to trial. In this case the grand jury, upon listening to the evidence of the district attorney, decides there is reason to believe Norton is the thief who assaulted the jeweler and that he should be held and brought to trial.

Again Norton is released on bail. After a delay of months he is notified that his trial is set for a certain day. Meanwhile the jeweler has fully recovered from the wound which he received when he attempted to defend his property, and he is ready to appear in the court to tell what happened and to identify Norton. A woman who was close to the jewelry shop when Norton ran from it is also able to identify him and will be asked to do so. In the meantime, Norton has secured a lawyer to defend his case.

4. *The trial.* The day of the trial arrives. The courtroom is

crowded with many people — some of them merely curious spectators. There are newspaper reporters, who are there to supply the public with the news of such cases, and official stenographers, whose duty it is to take down in shorthand all that is said at the trial. Various officials are also present.

This is a *criminal trial*; that is, the criminal has broken law and order, which is an offense against the state. The state has a

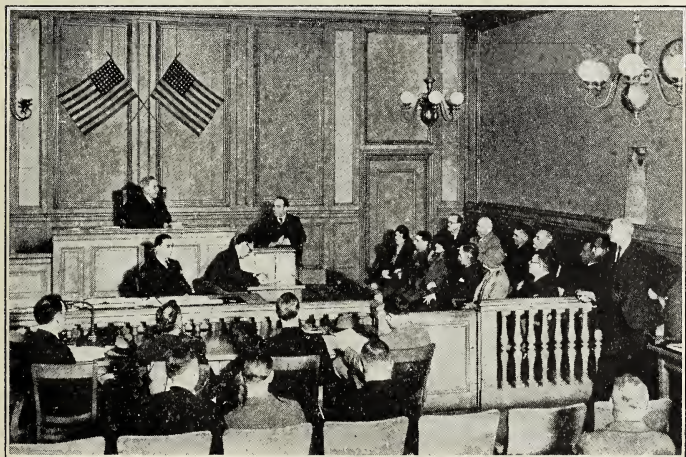


FIG. 116. A scene in a modern courtroom. The judge sits at the desk beneath the flags. At the extreme right of the picture is the jury. The prisoner sits between the jury and the judge

prosecuting officer to represent it. A judge presides over the court, and a jury of twelve citizens, chosen by lot after questioning by the lawyers, is there to listen to the evidence presented.

The case is tried. In brief, here is the story of the trial. The district attorney accuses Norton of the robbery. He calls upon his witnesses — the jeweler and the woman — to tell their stories and to identify Norton. Then Norton's lawyer tries to show that Norton is a peaceful citizen who, seeing himself pursued by a policeman with a gun in hand, ran in fear. But the bag containing the jewelry has been found, meanwhile, and the prosecuting attorney is able to prove that Norton purchased it the day the robbery was committed.

5. *The verdict.* After a short and secret consultation in the jury room the twelve jurymen decide that Norton is guilty. Thus they convict him of the crime.

6. *The sentence.* The judge then sentences him to fifteen years' imprisonment, and the trial is over. From the courtroom Norton is taken immediately to the city jail. He is now a prisoner.



FIG. 117. On the prison grounds of one of our state penitentiaries. Note the armed guards who accompany the prisoners

7. *Appeal.* Norton and his lawyer are dissatisfied with the result of the trial; so Norton's lawyer appeals the case — that is, he asks a higher court to reconsider the evidence and the verdict. Months later, after many delays, the higher court considers the case and confirms the original verdict of guilty.

Within a short time Norton leaves the city jail for the state prison, where he becomes a model prisoner. After serving eight years of his fifteen-year sentence, the warden of the prison sends in a recommendation to the state parole board that Norton be released on parole. This is done, and soon after Norton is allowed to go free.

These, in brief, are the principal steps followed in a criminal case. In most cases there are many more steps and many more details than those given here. For example, lawyers frequently succeed in securing new trials for their convicted clients. This example, however, gives you the most important steps: (1) arrest, (2) preliminary hearing, (3) grand-jury hearing, (4) trial, (5) verdict, (6) sentence, (7) appeal.

Let us now study what happens in a typical civil case.

2. The story of a civil case

Mr. A leased from Mr. Z a room to be used as an office in an office building and signed a contract (or lease) agreeing to pay Mr. Z \$50 each month for one year. Toward the end of the year, A decided that the office he had opened was too far from the center of town. However, he had not yet found one which was more suitable; so he sent his clerk to ask Z if, without signing a contract for another year, A could rent the office for one month after his year's lease had expired. Z agreed to this, but he did not write his agreement. A kept the office for the extra month, paid the rent, and then moved.

1. *The complaint.* Two months later, A was notified, both by a law firm and by the county court, that a suit had been entered in court against him by Z. Z claimed that A owed him \$50 for each month of the second year of the contract. He based his claim upon a clause in the lease that A had signed. This clause stated that if A failed to write Z, saying that he did not wish to renew his lease for another year, he would be bound to rent the office for that year also.

2. *The answer.* A engaged a lawyer immediately. The lawyer filed an answer stating that in the conversation between A's clerk and Z it had been thoroughly understood that A did not wish to keep the office for another year and that this agreement in words was equal to an agreement in writing.

3. *The "docket."* This answer, as well as the complaint, was then placed in the court's "docket," or list of cases to be tried later.

A's lawyer then arranged a meeting with Z and told him

that, rather than ask A to waste his time in a long court trial, he had advised A to give Z \$100 to settle his claim. Z would not agree to accept less than \$400. As A and Z could come to no agreement, the case was left in the hands of the court.

4. *The trial.* Nothing was heard about the matter for months. Then one day, a year after A had moved from Z's building, he received a notice to appear in court.

Z's lawyer displayed the lease as evidence. Then A's clerk swore to the fact that Z had definitely agreed that A wished the room for one month only.

5. *The finding.* The jury accepted the clerk's declaration and decided that the agreement in words was binding and that only the cost of the trial should be borne by A. This amounted to \$100.

TWO PRINCIPAL KINDS OF OFFENSES AGAINST SOCIETY

These, then, are two examples of the chief kinds of legal action. The first was a *criminal case*; the second was a *civil case*. These two kinds of offenses against society are called, respectively, crimes and torts.

A crime is an act committed or omitted in violation of a public law. A tort is "the infliction of injury for which damage may be recovered." Some torts are also crimes, but the fundamental distinction between the two lies in the question Has a public law been violated?

Let us illustrate each of these two kinds of offense.

1. The chief kinds of crime

There are many ways of classifying crimes. A fairly common way is as follows:

1. Crimes against public order; for example, driving vehicles on the wrong side of the street; ignoring a traffic light; neglecting to obey a policeman's signal; voting illegally.

2. Crimes against property; for example, robbery (theft from a person); burglary (theft from private premises); grand larceny (theft of any property above a fixed value, generally \$25 to \$50); arson (setting fire to buildings); other examples of malicious mischief.

3. Crimes against persons ; for example, murder (murder in the first degree is the intentional and premeditated killing of a human being ; murder in the second degree is the killing of a human being without premeditation ; manslaughter is the killing resulting from unintentional or careless acts) ; assault, rape, mayhem, and other attacks upon the body ; libel or slander (libel means injuring by means of publication ; slander means injuring by word of mouth).

Crimes are also divided, from the point of view of their seriousness, into two classes : (1) felonies, (2) misdemeanors. A felony is a more serious offense, one that is punished by imprisonment or by death. Murder, manslaughter, burglary, robbery, larceny, and arson are felonies. A misdemeanor is a lesser offense, generally punished by a fine or a short-term imprisonment in jail or workhouse. Disturbance of the peace, spitting on the floor of a public conveyance, violating food and health laws, and exceeding the speed limit are examples of misdemeanors.

2. The chief kinds of torts

Paralleling the vast and complicated criminal law is the law that controls the action of individual citizens against one another. In brief, we can say that, whenever the property, the person, or the reputation of an individual is injured by another, he can sue to recover damages.

Property is divided into two classes : (1) real, (2) personal. Real property includes land and things attached to the land, such as buildings. Personal property includes all movable things and rights which are not connected with land. There are other detailed classifications of property, but we shall not consider them at this time.

The violation of any private right is called a tort. Let us note three classes of torts :

1. Torts against the person ; for example, false imprisonment, assault and battery, abduction, slander, and libel.

2. Torts against property ; for example, trespassing upon land, buildings, or other property — that is, the “unauthorized entry” on another’s premises.

3. Torts against both person and property ; for example, the conducting of a nuisance which unreasonably interferes with the

peace, quiet, and enjoyment of one's property, such as unreasonable noises which disturb sleep or interfere with work.

You will notice that some offenses can be regarded as either crimes or torts. They can be prosecuted by the state as crimes, and the injured person or persons can also sue at civil law to recover damages.

There are other means of legal action under civil law. For example, many rights of the individual arise because of the making of contracts between two or more parties. A contract is made when one party makes an offer and a second party accepts it. Thus if a man says, "I offer to sell you my automobile for \$500," and the other person says, "I accept your offer," a contract has been made. If either party refuses to carry out the contract the other party can recover damages from him by means of a lawsuit.

AN ELABORATE SYSTEM OF LAW ENFORCEMENT HAS GROWN UP IN AMERICA

In a village or small community the problem of keeping order is relatively simple. There are few people and few conflicts; hence few problems of law arise. One or two policemen (called constables or marshals) and a justice of the peace can take care of the minor offenses committed in the community. If serious crimes occur these are handled by courts of the county or the state.

In America today, however, more than half of the people live in fairly large communities. Many of them live under the crowded conditions of large cities. To keep order in such communities a more elaborate system of law enforcement has been necessary. Steadily, throughout the past 50 years, the system of law enforcement has changed, although not rapidly enough to keep pace with the changing urban conditions. For example, as the number of automobiles on city streets has multiplied, special departments of police and courts have been established. As the number of juvenile delinquents has increased, special children's courts have been set up. As the expanding cities have brought increasing problems of domestic relations, separate courts have been established to handle them. Similarly other departments of law enforce-

ment have developed one by one. As a result the total system today is an elaborate and costly thing.

Let us sum it up briefly. The chief divisions of the system are : (1) the lawmaking division ; (2) the division of police ; (3) the prosecuting division ; (4) the division of the courts ; (5) the penal institutions, parole and pardon boards, and the like.

IMPORTANT QUESTIONS FOR OUR FURTHER STUDY

How does this complicated system of law enforcement work? Does it succeed in protecting property and persons? Does it guarantee "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"? To answer these far-reaching questions fully would require a volume — indeed, a library. In the next chapter we shall sketch some of the answers briefly. Our purpose will be attained, however, if you comprehend clearly the seriousness of the critical problems of law and order which our people now confront.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

See the readings listed in Chapter XIII.

CHAPTER XIII

SOME PROBLEMS OF LAW ENFORCEMENT AND CRIME

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF LAW ENFORCEMENT

Viewed in the large the American system has astonishingly fine achievements to its credit. Let us consider a few examples.

First, the system permits and regulates, with a fair degree of protection, the production, distribution, and exchange of things upon which our lives depend. In the first volume of this series, *An Introduction to American Civilization*, was described the efficiency with which this is done. There we saw the interdependent character of our vast nation — a country of thousands of communities located in a variety of geographic environments, separated by great distances, composed of scores of races and nationalities, and dependent upon remote continents of the earth.

Now in spite of the precariousness of our interdependent way of living, most of our people carry on their daily lives in comparative security. Relatively pure and varied kinds of food are brought regularly to the tables of 25,000,000 families. Scarcely a town in the entire nation lacks a sufficient and uninterrupted supply of pure water, probably the best water of any country in the world. Each day millions of automobiles pass, for the most part without collision, over crowded streets or along country highways. Each day millions of people carry on their work and play with relatively little damage to their houses, furniture, clothing, or other property. All but a small fraction of them walk the streets, engage in their work, partake of a great variety of recreations, with little interruption by crime or accidents or disease.

To have produced such a degree of physical security under the startling changes of the New Industrial Revolution is, indeed, a striking achievement for America. We must never lose sight of its attainments.

But, say leading authorities on law enforcement, there is another side to this picture of security. There are the startling facts of crime, of murder, robberies, and assault.¹

HOW MUCH CRIME IS THERE IN THE UNITED STATES?

It is impossible to answer this question fully and exactly. Yet certain facts are worth considering — for example, the facts set forth in the bar graph, figure 118. This table gives the number of homicides in 31 large cities of the country. A homicide is the killing of one human being by another. Some homicides are accidents, but by far the greater number of them are crimes — and crimes of the worst kind. Note the startling increase in homicides since 1900; today there are four times as many as there were 30 years ago. Indeed in these cities approximately 2500 persons have been killed each year during the past five years.

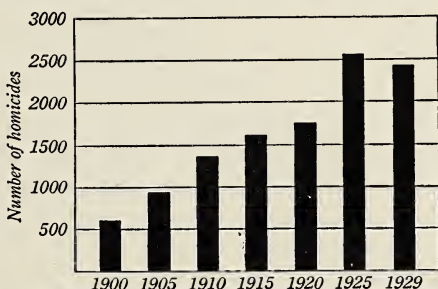


FIG. 118. Homicides in 31 cities of 100,000 or more people. In the period between 1900 and 1929 the number of people killed by others, either accidentally or intentionally, has multiplied nearly four times

Another kind of information which will help us to understand the extent to which crimes are committed in the United States is the record of the number of prisoners in Federal and state prisons and reformatories, and of the number committed to such institutions each year. Table XXIII, for example, shows the

¹ The treatment of this difficult problem of crime in our larger cities is based upon the following authoritative sources: *Criminal Justice in Cleveland* (The Cleveland Foundation, Cleveland, 1922), a survey under the direction of Dean Roscoe Pound and Professor Felix Frankfurter, both of the Harvard Law School; Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1929; Raymond Moley, *Our Criminal Courts*, Minton, Balch & Company, New York, 1930; E. H. Lavine, *The Third Degree*, The Vanguard Press, New York, 1930; E. D. Sullivan, *Chicago Surrenders*, The Vanguard Press, New York, 1930; E. D. Sullivan, *Rattling the Cup on Chicago Crime*, The Vanguard Press, New York, 1929. Current articles in *Harper's Magazine*, *The Forum*, *The Survey*, and other magazines have also supplied important statistics and facts.

number of people who were imprisoned in 1910, 1923, 1929, and 1930. Note that the number has nearly doubled in twenty years.

But the population has increased too, so we need the facts of Table XXIV which shows the rate of increase. Whereas 32 out

TABLE XXIII

| NUMBER OF PRISONERS IN FEDERAL AND STATE PRISONS AND REFORMATORIES ON JANUARY 1 OF THE YEAR INDICATED | |
|---|---------|
| 1910 | 68,735 |
| 1923 | 81,959 |
| 1929 | 110,505 |
| 1930 ¹ | 116,670 |

of every 100,000 people were sent to prisons in 1910, in 1928 there were 45. This means that the relative number has increased more than one third.

Do these facts really tell us how much crime there is in the United States? They tell us that nearly one in each 1000 of our people is actually in prison and that the proportion sent to prison is growing faster than is the total population. But the people who are convicted of crime are only a small

proportion of those who actually commit crimes. We can only guess at the amount of crime actually committed. Many

crimes are never reported to the police. Those responsible for many others, such as burglaries and robberies, cannot be traced. Many investigations have been made of our police and court systems. All of them show that only a small fraction of the crimes committed are ever fixed upon the persons responsible. We have space for but one illustration, and that deals only with crimes for which arrests were actually made.

The diagram of figure 119 (from the report on criminal justice in Cleveland) shows that of every 100 persons arrested for serious crimes (felonies) only 37 were found guilty and sentenced. But eight of the 37 received suspended sentences, seven paid fines, and seven more were imprisoned for very short terms in workhouses. Only fifteen out of every 100 persons who were arrested for felonies were actually imprisoned in penitentiaries or reformatories.

TABLE XXIV

| NUMBER OF PRISONERS PER 100,000 POPULATION RECEIVED FROM COURTS DURING 1910 AND 1928 | |
|--|----|
| 1910 | 32 |
| 1928 | 45 |

¹ The figure for 1930 does not include those in Federal prisons; therefore the total number imprisoned in that year is really greater.

Investigations in other cities and states confirm the general conclusion which may be drawn from this diagram ; namely, that the number of persons actually committed to penal institutions measures only a small proportion of the actual crime in the United States. Whether the actual crime is six times as great, ten times as great, or twenty times as great, or more, we cannot even estimate ; we can only guess. But that it is huge and that it means a great waste to society in money alone can be proved by many kinds of evidence.

ESTIMATES OF THE COST OF
CRIME IN AMERICA

There have been many attempts to estimate the annual cost of crime. These have been made by crime commissions of cities and states, by insurance and surety companies, and by expert sociologists and others. Their estimates vary greatly. For example, the head of the New Jersey State Departments

and Agencies estimates the annual cost at \$3,500,000,000. The chairman of the National Surety Company estimates the cost at \$10,000,000,000. Of this huge sum, \$4,000,000,000 is regarded as representing actual money losses and \$6,000,000,000 as representing the expense incurred in enforcing the nation's laws.

An estimate made by Mr. M. O. Prentiss, the organizer of the National Crime Commission in 1925, gives a grand total of about \$13,000,000,000. Important statistics from his detailed estimates are given in Table XXV.

But even \$13,000,000,000 is only a small part of the total

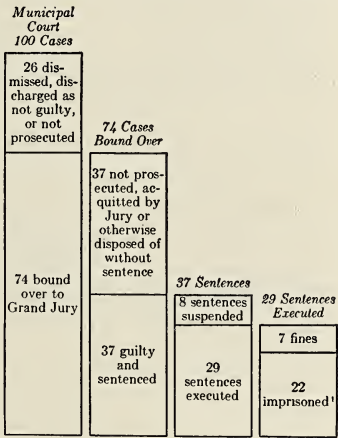


FIG. 119. Study what happened in each 100 felony cases.¹ (Adapted from *Criminal Justice in Cleveland*. Courtesy of the Cleveland Foundation)

¹ Of the twenty-two who were imprisoned, seven were sent to a workhouse for short terms—perhaps ten days to a month—and fifteen were imprisoned for longer terms in a penitentiary or reformatory.

cost. It does not begin to cover the *real* losses to the people of America each year. As Prentiss says, it omits losses through illegal betting, gambling, graft, bribery, and the full losses in

TABLE XXV

| THE ESTIMATED ANNUAL MONEY COST OF CRIME | |
|---|-----------------|
| Losses through fraud | \$1,270,000,000 |
| Property losses through burglary, robbery, etc. | 1,160,000,000 |
| Cost of law enforcement | 4,000,000,000 |
| Waste of man power due to crime. | 6,503,000,000 |
| Grand total cost of all crime | 12,933,000,000 |

twice as much as the United States lent to European nations during the four years of the World War!

But to all this money loss is to be added the dreadful cost in human life, in anxiety, in grief, and in physical suffering caused by murders, assaults, robberies, incendiary fires, and other violations of the public peace and security. These, of course, cannot be estimated in terms of financial losses, and yet perhaps they make up the most important part of the cost of crime.

Who commit crimes?

Who are these people who break our laws? Are they mostly men or mostly women? Are they young or old? Are they white or Negro, native or foreign-born?

The following graphs and tables supply the facts with which to answer these questions.

First, note that men, not women, commit most of our crimes (figure 120). Eleven times as many men as women were committed

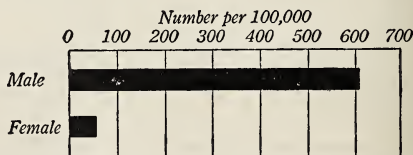


FIG. 120. Comparison of crime among men and women in penal institutions per 100,000 of male and of female population in 1923. This graph illustrates the fact that in the United States men commit crimes with far greater frequency than do women

to penal institutions in a recent year. These figures are typical for other years. Dr. Thrasher, a leading expert on "gangs," reports that of 1213 gangs in Chicago, only 5 were those of girls or women.

TABLE XXVI

| AGES OF PRISONERS IN PENAL INSTITUTIONS PER 100,000 POPULATION (OF SAME AGES) IN 1923 | |
|---|-----|
| Under 18 years | 127 |
| 18 to 20 years | 563 |
| 21 to 24 years | 704 |
| 25 to 34 years | 583 |
| 35 to 44 years | 572 |
| 45 to 64 years | 357 |
| 65 years and over | 100 |

to seven young men of ages eighteen to forty-five are so committed; third, almost as many youths of eighteen to twenty years of age are convicted of crime as are men of maturity. What other important conclusions can you draw from Table XXVI?

Finally from figures 121 and 122 we can draw conclusions of the greatest importance about the nationality and race of criminals. First, nearly three times as many Negroes as whites were convicted and sent to penal institutions in a recent year; second, there are twice as many foreign-born prisoners as native-born.

Table XXVI answers our question about the ages of criminals. Several conclusions are clear: first, about one boy in 1000 under eighteen years of age is convicted and sent to a penal institution; second, about five

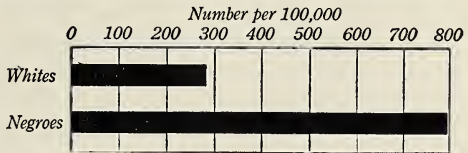


FIG. 121. Number of people committed to penal institutions per 100,000 of whites and of Negroes in 1923. This graph tells you that the proportion of crimes committed by white people is far less than that committed by Negroes

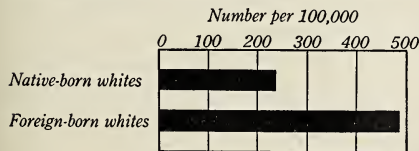


FIG. 122. Number of people committed to penal institutions per 100,000 of native-born whites and of foreign-born whites. Of the white people in the United States those born here commit fewer crimes than those born elsewhere

likewise much larger. Other studies have shown that the crime rate among them is much higher than among the whites.

Table XXVII shows, furthermore, that 87 per cent of all the

Look at Table XXIX and note how one conclusion is confirmed. Table XXIX (page 296) shows that the proportion of killings in Southern cities is much larger than in Northern cities. In these cities the percentage of Negroes is

gangs Dr. Thrasher found in Chicago were composed of foreign-born boys or men or those of foreign parentage. Dr. Thrasher's investigation shows that out of 880 gangs, 83 per cent of the members were either of Polish, Italian, or Irish nationality, of

TABLE XXVII¹

| NEGRO, FOREIGN, AND AMERICAN GANGS IN CHICAGO | | |
|---|--------------------|------------------------|
| | Number of Gangs | Percentage of Total |
| American (native white parentage) | 45 | 5.26 |
| Negro | 63 ² | 7.37 |
| Foreign extraction ³ | 747 | 87.37 |

mixed nationalities, or Negroes. Only 5 per cent were white native Americans.

From many such studies the conclusion can be drawn that one fundamen-

tal factor in the large amount of crime in America is the large number of foreign-born and persons of the dark-skinned races who have settled rapidly in recent years in our largest cities. As you continue your high-school studies, note again how problems of immigration and of crime go hand in hand — especially in metropolitan centers.

HOW DOES CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES COMPARE WITH THAT IN OTHER COUNTRIES?

Is this distressing condition of crime in America equally true of other countries, as the higher crime rate among the foreign-born suggests? Figure 123 and Table XXVIII also help to answer this question.

Note the sharp contrast in Figure 123 between killings in the United States and in England and Wales and in Canada. Nearly seven times as many people in proportion to the population are being killed in the United States as in Canada. There are approximately seventeen times as many homicides in the United States as in England and Wales.

Furthermore, the condition is steadily becoming worse in the United States. There were four times as many killings in the United States in 1926 as in 1900. During approximately the same period killings in England and Wales were reduced by 50 per cent.

¹ Frederic M. Thrasher, *The Gang*, p. 193. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1927.

² The 25 gangs of mixed Negroes and whites are necessarily omitted.

³ A number of Chicago Chinese are members of tongs, which are very similar to gangs. The number of such groups is not known.

Table XXVIII shows some still more startling facts. In New York more than 14 times and in Chicago more than 24 times as many robberies were committed in one year as in *all England and Wales*!

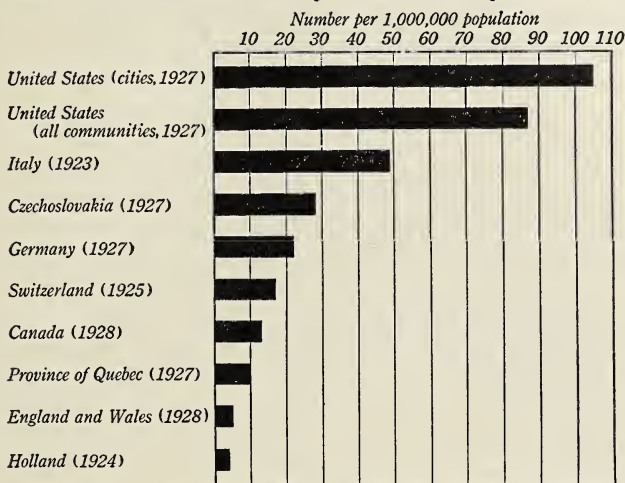


FIG. 123. Each bar represents the number of homicides in one year for each million inhabitants. Compare the first two bars; then compare the first bar with the third, fourth, etc.

Table XXIX also supplements the information which was given in figure 123. It shows that proportionately more of these crimes are committed in the cities of the United States than in the country as a whole. As early as

1924, Frederick L. Hoffman, a statistician of the Prudential Insurance Company, reported a careful investigation of the number of homicides in 28 of our principal cities. His findings showed

TABLE XXVIII

| ROBBERIES ¹ | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------|---------------------|
| | Population | Number of Robberies |
| All of England and Wales (1921) . . . | 37,885,000 | 95 |
| New York alone (1922) | 5,620,000 | 1445 |
| Chicago alone (1922) . | 2,702,000 | 2417 |

"the most amazing murder record for any civilized country for which the data are available. It indicates a state of affairs so startling and of such significance that no government, Federal or

¹ Population statistics for New York and Chicago are for 1920.

state, can rightfully ignore the situation . . . the murder death rate has practically doubled in twenty-four years."

A well-known judge, commenting on Mr. Hoffman's investigation, said: "Does anyone arise to deny the assertion that we are the most lawless nation on the face of the earth?"¹

CRIMES IN THE SMALLER TOWNS AND CITIES

Is this large amount of crime confined to the larger cities? It is from them, of course, that we have the conspicuous examples of gang murder, but Table XXIX shows that smaller cities both north and south of the Ohio River have even larger crime rates than those of New York and Chicago.

TABLE XXIX

| HOMICIDES IN CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES, 1922-1923: PEOPLE KILLED PER 100,000 POPULATION | |
|--|------|
| Memphis | 66.2 |
| Nashville | 34.7 |
| New Orleans | 25.5 |
| Louisville | 24.4 |
| St. Louis | 21.5 |
| Washington | 13.3 |
| Chicago | 12.7 |
| New York | 5.5 |

In most of the middle-sized and growing towns and cities, too, jails and courts are crowded. Consider the following situation which the Lynds found in "Middletown."

In a city of 38,000 people, there were practically 1500 arrests in one year. We have no knowledge of how many different persons were arrested. From the generally existing knowledge of crime we know that these 1500 arrests represent probably no more than a few hundred different persons. Yet this amount of offense against public security in a typical middle-sized community of America contrasts sharply with the peace and quiet and safety of similar communities in most other countries.

OUR CITIES ARE INFESTED BY GANGS

From time out of mind the cities of the earth have had an underworld, that is, a group of criminals living in frank opposition to law. Throughout the history of American cities as well, every decade has had its people of the hidden underworlds.

¹ Quoted by the *Literary Digest*, September 13, 1924, pp. 32, 33, from the *New York Herald-Tribune*.

Generally they have inhabited segregated, poorer sections of the cities and have been organized into small groups called gangs.

It is in recent years, however, and chiefly since the beginning of prohibition in 1919, that the gangs have come to play an important part in the life of the cities and in their invisible governments. There are more than 800 criminal adult gangs in America with an annual income of more than \$3,000,000,000 obtained from the sale of "bootleg" liquor. This condition is made possible chiefly because American citizens are willing to pay \$3,000,000,000 for bootleg liquor. If the citizens were not willing to pay, the illegal industry could not live.

How do these criminal gangs recruit their members? In large part from the youthful gangs that have grown up in the slum regions of our cosmopolitan cities. Dr. Frederic Thrasher¹ found that every age from 10 to 30 years was

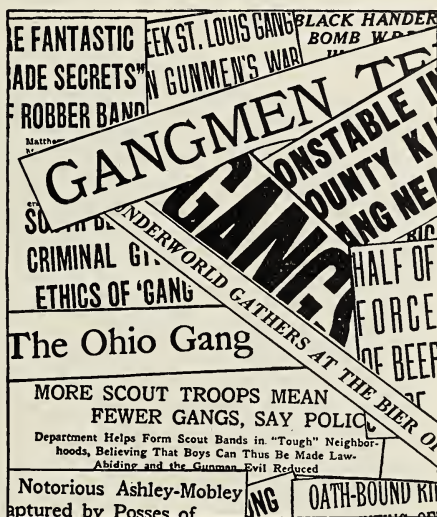


FIG. 124. Our newspapers show the important part criminal gangs play in American town and city life today. (From the jacket of Frederic Thrasher's *The Gang*. Courtesy of the University of Chicago Press)

represented, and that more than one third of the gang members were less than 16 years of age. Table XXX shows the distribution of 1213 of these gangs according to ages.

In our largest cities, these youthful gangs are found on street corners, in alleys, in districts where there are empty lots and rubbish dumps. At first they exist as little spontaneous play groups; out of these under the right conditions emerge the gangs. Children are crowded together in vast numbers, unsuper-

¹ See his authoritative book, *The Gang* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1927).

vised by their parents, and allowed to take care of themselves. They desire an active life, which has been forbidden them in many schools. They get excitement from doing things which are forbidden at home, in school, and in church, in the community generally, under the eyes of adults. They experience the thrill of hunting and fighting, the thrill of escape, even of capture.

TABLE XXX¹

| TYPE OF GANG | RANGE OF AGES (YEARS) | NUMBER OF GANGS | PER CENT OF TOTAL |
|-------------------------------------|--|--------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Childhood | 6-12 | 18 | 1.48 |
| 2. Earlier adolescent | 11-17 | 455 | 37.51 |
| 3. Later adolescent | 16-25 | 305 | 25.15 |
| 4. Adult | 21-50 | 38 | 3.13 |
| 5. Mixed | Wider range | 154 | 12.70 |
| 6. Athletic or social clubs | Late adolescent or adult ² | 243 | 20.03 |
| Total | | 1213 | 100.00 |

The gangs are composed chiefly of foreign-born or the children of foreign-born. Thus it is clear that our gang problem is in part one of assimilation of the foreign-born, and in part one of better supervision and care for our young people both in and out of school.

THE RÔLE OF THE GANG IN INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT

These gangs play an important part in the government of our larger cities. Dr. Thrasher says that investigators have estimated that two thirds of the administrators of our large city governments have grown up in gangs.

In these gangs, boys learn how invisible government is conducted. In many they learn lack of respect for law.

The political leader gets the youthful gang to organize a club. Sometimes the gang takes his own name. Many of these become athletic clubs. Dr. Thrasher thinks that most of the 243 athletic and social clubs which he lists were originally mere gangs. Once

¹Frederic M. Thrasher, *The Gang*, p. 74. University Press, Chicago, 1927.

²Athletic and social clubs upon which more exact age figures are available have been included under types 3, 4, and 5.

these clubs are started the political machine pays the rent and helps the boys in various ways. In return, the boys help the boss, carrying messages and rounding up voters on election day.

One investigation showed that with the help of such an athletic club, a young politician became a member of the leading governing board of a great city. In return for this help he secured police protection for the members of the club, including several who were believed to have committed murder. Investigations in

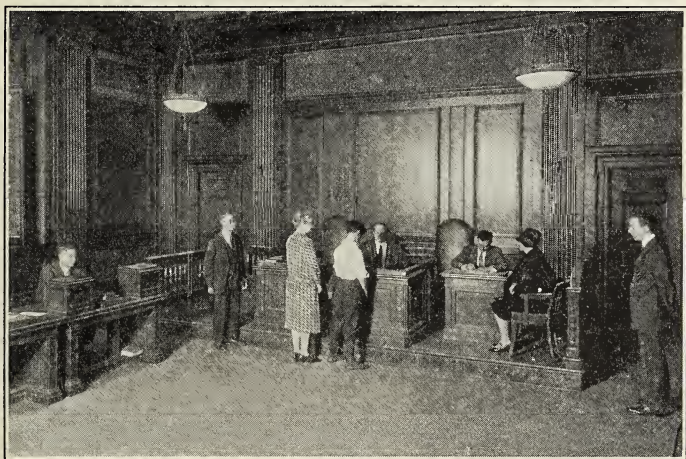


FIG. 125. A young prisoner brought before the judge of a juvenile court. Through such courts many young people are helped to break away from gangs

various large cities have proved that these gang clubs have not only promoted crime, they have also definitely allied themselves with corrupt government of the cities. Crime commissions, United States district attorneys, and judges report that such conditions prevail in Boston, Chicago, New York, St. Louis, and other cities. It has been most difficult to secure absolute proof, but in recent years impartial investigations have established the facts beyond doubt.

How, then, does the gang help the machine? There are many ways, but chiefly by influence, by getting votes, by voting illegally, by intimidating honest voters. As we have seen, the boss

and his political machine control a considerable share of the votes of the city. Through the help of gangs, especially in immigrant quarters, the ward boss — “the czar of local politics” — is elected year after year to the city council. In every city there are famous instances of corrupt bosses being regularly reelected throughout an entire lifetime.



© 1930 New York Tribune, Inc.

FIG. 126. In this cartoon the gangsters, the police, and the small offender are playing the game of blindman's buff. Who is being caught?
(From the *New York Herald-Tribune*)

There are instances on record in which the political boss has been shown to have entered “into alliance with criminal gangs.”

Some of these gangsters are so powerful in their districts that they can swing an entire ward if they are disposed to exert themselves. . . . For such support the politicians are willing to pay and sometimes they sacrifice the public interest by thwarting justice to give their gangster-vassal immunity. . . . It has become customary . . . to refer to these gangsters as “immune criminals.” This merely means that these men have

escaped punishment, sometimes in one way and sometimes in another, but often through political influence.¹

In 1919 the crime commission of a great city reported :

Police protection has been an essential element in the existence of organized crime. Collusion between grafting police officials and various criminal groups has been shown and during the administration of the present state's attorney, criminal police officers have been convicted and sent to the penitentiary.²

Some politicians secure the help of the gangs by offering them “soft jobs” or highly paid ones. They also secure special privi-

¹ Frederic Thrasher, *The Gang*, pp. 470–471. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1927.

² H. B. Chamberlin, *Bulletin of the Chicago Crime Commission*, November 20, 1919, p. 4.

leges for gangsters who have been convicted and are in prisons or jails, by having their sentences shortened, extending favors to inmates, and the like.

Thus there are proved cases of the vicious criminal practices of the gangs and their close connection with the invisible political machine government of our larger cities.

DIFFICULTIES WHICH PROSECUTORS AND COURTS CONFRONT IN CONVICTING GANGSTERS AND POLITICIANS

In order to understand the breakdown of law in many cities of the country, we must study briefly the difficulties which our system of justice confronts in convicting known criminals. In every one of our larger cities, murderers walk free upon the street today when they are known to the police, the prosecuting attorney, and the courts to have killed one or more persons. In less than a decade 70 leading gangsters and hundreds of lesser ones were killed in one of our largest cities in connection with gang wars over liquor, gambling, and vice. Yet, says one of our leading students of gang crime,

a study of all of the shootings . . . shows clearly the futility of police efforts. The crimes invariably are pre-arranged to the last detail, executed with flawless precision and followed — under pain of gang death — by utter silence on the part of all involved.¹

Why are police efforts futile? Why are slayers not caught? Why were there no executions in a year when 77 murderers had been tried and convicted? There are many reasons. Let us review them rapidly.

1. *Witnesses and evidence are often difficult to procure.* "The first law of the underworld is 'Don't Talk.'" What happens in a large city when a gang murder is committed? E. H. Lavine, a leading authority on gang crime, says:

I have been at the scenes of homicides, a few minutes after the crime, when dozens and sometimes hundreds of people questioned by the police

¹ Edward Dean Sullivan, *Rattling the Cup on Chicago Crime*, p. 200. The Vanguard Press, New York, 1929. See pages 201-207 of Mr. Sullivan's book for a list of these instances: item after item shows "slayer not caught."

would not even admit hearing any shots or witnessing the occurrence. I recall one summer's evening when at least ten or twenty shots were fired on a busy thoroughfare, resulting in several deaths or mortal injuries. After the outburst of artillery had subsided, the residents went back to their chairs, stoops, or windows, absolutely oblivious to the presence of victims, police, or reporters. "I must have been inside feeding the baby," or "I thought it was the backfire of an automobile and paid no attention to the noise" was the type of excuse offered.¹

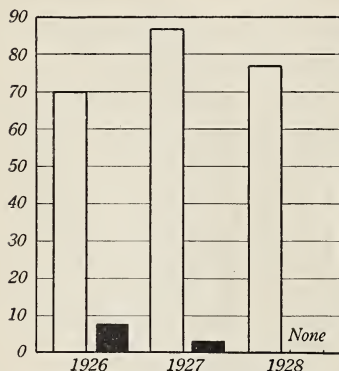


FIG. 127. Number of murderers convicted and executed in a large city, 1926, 1927, and 1928. The white bars show the number convicted; the black bars the number executed. What story do the black bars tell?

Nobody will talk — not even the victims themselves if they still live! When confronted by their assailants, they refuse to testify for fear that should they recover, the gang will eventually kill them, and that should they die, the gang will revenge itself upon their relations.

Loyalty to the gang, refusal to "squeal," also seals men's lips even when subjected to the most brutal assaults by the police themselves. Mr. Lavine gives many instances of criminals refusing to name accomplices even under the most painful torture.

2. *Justice is hindered by fear of gangs.* In spite of the fear which pervades our larger cities, there are many honest and courageous prosecutors and judges. Occasionally these succeed in bringing about the arrest of leading criminals. Are they able to convict them and send them to prison or execute them? Almost never. Why is this true? Because of many factors. For example, witnesses brought into court disappear. From his 25 years of experience in observing criminal cases Mr. Lavine says:

Respectable witnesses are insulted and accused of heinous or degenerate acts to take the edge from their damaging testimony. Sometimes witnesses are either bribed or intimidated, kidnaped or killed to

¹ E. H. Lavine, *The Third Degree*, pp. 23-24. The Vanguard Press, New York, 1930.

prevent them from making damaging statements. At other times all the evidence is mislaid or lost through the carelessness of the janitor.¹

In one case an honest and courageous judge (John Lyle, of Chicago) had found a leading gangster-politician guilty and had imposed a sentence upon him. Immediately all the influence of the political machine and the gang world was brought to bear on the judge to secure the release of the gangster. He courageously refused to do so, but in spite of him another judge released the criminal.

3. *Some policemen take bribes from the gangsters.* Most of the members of the police force are efficient and honest. They do their duty even in the face of danger and threats of revenge. A few have even lost their lives in attempting to arrest lawbreakers. It has been proved, however, that some of the police in our larger cities receive regularly a share of the money paid by the underworld for protection against the law. For example, sometimes policemen who arrest slayers and identify them positively at the time accept money to change their identification at the time of trial.

4. *Sometimes judges are under corrupt influences.* The honesty of most judges is above suspicion. Many judges, such as Judge Frank Comerford, Judge John Lyle, Judge Joseph Corrigan, have carried on justice in spite of temptations to accept bribes and of threats from gangsters. It has been proved, however, that not all judges are honest. A few accept bribes, dismiss charges against persons who have influence with the organization, and pay large sums of money to political machines in return for nomination and election to office. A few of the judges of our lower courts have even been found to have definite connections with gangdom.

It was established recently that one judge paid \$35,000 for election to office. In 1930 another judge in New York was sentenced to six years in a Federal prison for using the mails to defraud. Another illegally accepted a large salary from a corporation while holding his position on the bench. Another recently resigned his position after being indicted for accepting money as chairman of a trust company which failed.¹

¹ E. H. Lavine, *The Third Degree*, p. 214. The Vanguard Press, New York, 1930.

We need not multiply cases. They can be duplicated in every large city of the United States.

5. *The overcrowded conditions of courts and their general inefficiency also place great difficulties in the way of justice.* Renowned authorities who have made careful surveys agree on one important conclusion, namely, that some inefficiency exists in every division of the system of justice. For authoritative pictures of the present condition see the surveys referred to at the beginning of this chapter. Read especially the actual descriptions of courts given by Dr. Raymond Moley¹ and by the survey of criminal justice in Cleveland.

6. *The automobile and the impersonal conditions of large cities make crime detection very difficult.* In the little village, where everyone knows everybody else and population is sparsely distributed, the detection of crime is comparatively easy. In the larger towns it becomes more difficult and in the larger cities very difficult indeed. The very impersonality of the cities of 1,000,000 or more people tends to make it easy for the criminal to commit his crime and disappear. Streets are crowded and tenement and apartment buildings are set close together, making the arrest of criminals difficult.

Probably the most important factor in the escape of criminals is the automobile. Gangsters going out to shoot down rivals almost invariably travel in automobiles. These vehicles of death are armored with bullet-proof sides and windows. Many robberies of banks and stores are successfully committed because criminals can jump into an automobile, the engine of which has been left running, and in ten seconds can be out of sight around a corner. Thus the crowded, impersonal city and the automobile give the gangster a great advantage over the police.

7. *Yellow newspapers also increase the difficulties of criminal justice.* "Trial by fury!" . . . "Trial by tabloid!" . . . "Trial by the press!" . . . "Trial by the city desk!"

These are the titles either of chapters of books on criminal justice or of articles in recent magazines. What do they imply?

¹ Dr. Moley is the author of several authoritative monographs and books on crime; for example, *Politics and Criminal Prosecution* and *Our Criminal Courts*. He took part in the investigation of crime in Illinois and wrote the Report on the Municipal Court in Chicago, in the *Illinois Crime Survey*, Chicago, 1929.

They imply that sensational newspapers in our larger cities create prejudice for or against the defendant in a trial in which the community is interested. Do you think this helps the prosecuting attorney, the lawyers for the defendant, the judge, or the jury to arrive at a fair verdict? Note what Dr. Moley says about the matter after years of study of it in several cities :

The law well recognizes that the public opinion which surrounds a criminal trial is an important factor in determining its outcome. If the emotional life of a community be surcharged with prejudice for or against a defendant, the outcome of the trial is likely to be influenced by this bias. This is true even when a jury is selected with scrupulous regard for the impartiality of its individual membership. It is true even when the jury is carefully protected, during the trial, from the world outside. It is true even when the judge is strong and fair.¹

This conclusion is exactly borne out by the findings of the important survey of criminal justice in Cleveland made by leading experts on crime under the direction of Dean Roscoe Pound and Professor Felix Frankfurter, both of the Harvard Law School. After a most exhaustive investigation of "Newspapers and Criminal Justice," Mr. Frankfurter and his associates say :

The most significant conclusion revealed by this survey is that the entire system of criminal justice, as actually administered, is largely a reflex of the general community standards. This is peculiarly true of the part the press plays.²

They cite definite instances of interference by the press with law enforcement :

(1) Direct participation in law enforcement and (2) irresponsible publicity which embarrasses the official detection of wrongdoing or hampers the impartial processes of law in the trial of the accused.³

This commission says that "in common with papers throughout the country, the Cleveland newspapers" not only report the criminal news, but create it themselves. "A newspaper is, after

¹ Raymond Moley, *Our Criminal Courts*, p. 187. Courtesy of Minton, Balch & Company, publishers, New York, 1930.

² *Criminal Justice in Cleveland* (Directed and Edited by Roscoe Pound and Felix Frankfurter), p. 525. The Cleveland Foundation, Cleveland, 1922.

³ Adapted from *Criminal Justice in Cleveland* (Directed and Edited by Roscoe Pound and Felix Frankfurter), p. 522. The Cleveland Foundation, Cleveland, 1922).

all, a newspaper, not an arresting agency nor a detective bureau." It says also that, in the larger cities, the newspapers embarrass the course of justice by the way in which they arouse public interest, by creating an atmosphere around juries and judges which partly determines points of view and opinion that sway decisions in criminal cases.

The inescapable fact is that the flavor and substance of daily news reporting is, for good or ill, the most potent builder of opinion. What is "played up" or neglected from day to day gradually determines the public's mind as well as the official mind.¹

A nationally known lawyer, Mr. Henry W. Taft, in an important address on "The Press and the Courts" says:

Judge, juries, witnesses, court attendants and hangers-on live in the atmosphere thus created. The customary admonition to jurors not to read the newspapers is based upon an assumption that human nature cannot resist the impression created by press accounts. But in spite of such warnings, what the newspapers say does leak to the judge and jury, and, in proportion as the case excites public interest, it affects their deliberations.²

ONE OF THE GREATEST DIFFICULTIES: THE APATHY OF MOST PEOPLE

The foregoing examples show the difficulties which honest law-enforcement officers confront in carrying out their duties. But important as these are, according to eminent authorities one other is even more important — namely, the indifference of the public. Judge Talley, after reviewing the "rising tide of murder" in America, says there are two serious causes:

The first is the apathetic attitude of the people toward the strict enforcement of the law and the punishment of the criminal, and the second is the unwillingness of the people themselves to respect and obey the law of the land and to train the children of the country to obedience and respect for lawful constituted authority.

¹ *Criminal Justice in Cleveland* (Directed and Edited by Roscoe Pound and Felix Frankfurter), pp. 523-524. The Cleveland Foundation, Cleveland, 1922.

² Raymond Moley, *Our Criminal Courts*, p. 194. Courtesy of Minton, Balch & Company, publishers, New York, 1930.

What we need here is justice that will be prompt, adequate, and final. The barnacles that have grown in the centuries past upon prompt and efficient handling of the convicted criminal should be swept away, but this can only be accomplished by a healthy, earnest coöperation between the citizen and the official. One of the most curious and inexplicable manifestations in the criminal courts in recent years is the willingness of apparently respectable jurymen to flout the law and disregard the facts in the rendition of their verdicts. Every judge of every criminal court of the country can give innumerable instances of a wanton disregard of duty on the part of jurymen. It would seem that this is a reflection in the jury box of the general spirit of lawlessness that pervades the country, and unless it is stopped, its swelling tide will billow into a wave which will inundate our nation and sweep it to destruction.¹

One example of public indifference: jury-dodging.

In the early days of our country's history, when the communities were small, most citizens felt an interest and responsibility in matters of government. They attended town meetings, they voted at elections, and they took turns at serving on juries. In the earlier days juries frequently included farmers, business men, and professional men, as well as mechanics, clerks, and unskilled laborers.

As the industrial expansion went on and occupations became more and more specialized, it became increasingly necessary to exempt from jury service men of certain occupations. This was done because absence from their duties would seriously interrupt



FIG. 128. The average man turns his back to the wave of crime and hopes that laws and departments of justice will prevent crime from touching him. (See figure 129.) (Courtesy of the *St. Louis Star*)

¹ Quoted by the *Literary Digest*, September 13, 1924, pp. 32, 33, from the *New York Herald-Tribune*.

the work of the community. Hence laws were passed in various states granting exemption to such professional men as physicians and surgeons, dentists, clergymen, teachers and professors, editors, reporters, members of the army and navy, firemen, policemen, stationary engineers.

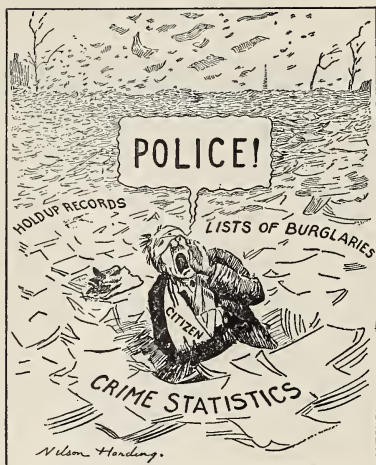


FIG. 129. In consequence of his indifference the American citizen finds himself helpless in a sea of crime. (Courtesy of the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*)

During these same years, however, there grew up an increasing indifference to all matters of government. As this took place more and more people from the better educated classes asked to be exempted from jury duty. The result is that today juries in American courts rarely include professional persons or outstanding business men. In general they are made up of people from the poorer economic classes, of the less educated people, and of "professional jurymen." Courts in many places tend now to use regular hangers-on in the courtrooms, who have no

other occupation, as members of juries. One county judge in a Middle Western state said: "I have held court here two months and have never seen a business man on one of my juries."

WHAT IS BEING DONE TO STOP THE RISING TIDE OF CRIME?

The problem of making law and justice more effective confronts the people of the United States.

The prevention of crime. Most students of the problem agree that among the factors most responsible for crime are ignorance, poverty, and bad company. Therefore steps have been taken by farsighted leaders to prevent crime through education, through aiding the poor, and through providing youth and adults with a

fine, healthful environment for their leisure time. Thus those who have established the social settlements and community centers have done much to diminish the spread of crime in the United States. Other agencies, such as the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, the Y. M. C. A., and the Y. W. C. A., have also been effective in encouraging high ideals of morality and citizenship.

The growth of public schools too has not only provided millions of youth in America with a fine educational atmosphere but has also given them a better opportunity to earn an honest livelihood, and school clubs of all kinds have provided young people with clean, worth-while recreation.

Thus we see that all these agencies have helped and are helping today to prevent the spread of crime.

Improvements in the treatment of offenders. But what of the offender, the person who has already broken the law? Has anything been done to keep him from drifting into still more serious crimes? Yes, some progress has also been made in this direction.

Children's courts have been established which aim to educate the young offender rather than to punish him. The child's home is investigated, the parents are advised, and the child is aided as seems best to the court. Boys and girls who have broken minor laws for the first time are often restored to their families and given a chance to prove that they can become law-abiding citizens. Thus their sentence is suspended, and, while they must report for a time to an official called a probation officer, the judge is not obliged to imprison them.¹

Those whose sentences are not suspended are not imprisoned with older offenders who have perhaps broken the law many times and possibly have been guilty of serious offenses. Instead they are sent to institutions for the young. This separation of the old and the young is also a recent improvement in the treatment of offenders.

Another improvement is the indeterminate sentence. When offenders are sentenced to prison in our day many judges will sentence them to, let us say, "from five to ten years." If the prisoner behaves well he is rewarded by being made to serve only

¹ The sentence of an adult who offends for the first time may also be suspended in some cases if the judge thinks it wise.

the shorter period. Sometimes even this time is shortened when the prisoner proves a model one.

There has also been some improvement in the way prisons are conducted. Thomas Mott Osborne was one of the leaders of modern prison reform. He became a voluntary prisoner in Sing Sing prison, of which he was warden, emerging with the firm conviction that reformation and reëducation were much more important than harsh punishment. He instituted at Sing Sing a system of self-government known as the Mutual Welfare League. Today this league elects its own officers, and its members make themselves responsible for good government inside the prison. It has also been a model for other prison-reform movements.

As a result of the work of such reformers as Osborne, Frank Tannenbaum, George W. Kirchwey, and others, many prisons today provide healthful recreation — the “movies,” baseball, etc. — for their inmates, as well as educate them in some such trade as the making of furniture, clothing, shoes, etc.

It is hoped that the prisoner emerging from his confinement without bitterness, with a greater respect for the law, and with a trade by which he may earn an honest livelihood may become a useful member of society.

Increasing interest among educated citizens in law enforcement. What has already been said about the agencies for crime prevention, the improvement in the treatment of offenders, and prison reform shows that not all Americans have been indifferent to these problems of law and justice.

† Other agencies have also been at work. Crime surveys of cities and states have been made by appointed commissions, supported by business men, lawyers, and civic organizations. Their aim has been to discover the causes of crime and to make recommendations for the improvement of the police system, courts, laws — in fact, of the whole system of justice. The National Crime Commission was organized in 1925 to gather the facts about crime throughout the nation.

| Other organizations, such as the American Prison Association, the National Probation Association, and the American Institute of Criminal Law, are also working toward better laws, better law enforcement, and the more intelligent handling of prisoners.

All these activities show that our better citizens are aware of the problems of crime in the United States and are striving for a solution. Perhaps our newspapers and magazines would contain less news and fewer articles on crime were these people less concerned about it. They hope by publicity to rouse other people to action.

SUMMING UP OUR INTRODUCTORY STUDY OF THE LAW IN MODERN AMERICA

Although our study of law enforcement and crime has been brief, we must now turn to the consideration of other aspects of our changing culture.

The discussions of Chapters XII and XIII have illustrated three phases of the question. First, they have introduced us to the elaborate system of justice that has grown up. We have seen the origins of the system and its chief characteristics.

Second, our studies have reminded us of the achievements of the system which modern civilization has erected for the protection of human beings. In our concern about the shortcomings of the system we must not forget its achievements. These are inconspicuous but very important. Because the newspapers do not remind us constantly that most American citizens are out of jail and conducting themselves in a decent and law-abiding manner, we are apt to forget this side of the picture. To keep a balanced perspective of the problem we should frequently remind ourselves of the way in which our American system of government permits and protects the daily lives of our people. Certainly the conclusion can be drawn that, in spite of the fragile, interdependent scheme of life which has grown up in our industrial civilization, the average citizen is actually safer today than in the earlier decades of American history.

On the other hand, the examples of this chapter have brought out clearly the serious and growing problem of crime in our larger communities. The evidence is overwhelming that cities are not only growing with dangerous rapidity, but also that their growth brings in its train difficult problems of law enforcement.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

- ADDAMS, JANE. *Twenty Years at Hull-House*. The Macmillan Company, New York.
Work at the Chicago settlement house.
- BARNES, HARRY ELMER. *The Repression of Crime*. Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York.
- BROMFIELD, LOUIS. *Awake and Rehearse*. Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York.
See the story "Justice"; also published in *The Scholastic*, October 19, 1929, pp. 3 ff.
- FORMAN, S. E. *The American Democracy*. The Century Co., New York. See Chapter XXIX, "Laws"; Chapter XXX, "Justice"; Chapter L, "Crime."
- FOSDICK, RAYMOND B. *American Police Systems*. The Century Co., New York.
- GALSWORTHY, JOHN. *Justice*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. A play: Is legal justice just?
- GRAVES, W. BROOKE. *Readings in Public Opinion*. D. Appleton and Company, New York. Chapter XXX contains readings on law enforcement and crime in the United States.
- HILL, HOWARD C. *Readings in Community Life*. Ginn and Company, Boston. See Chapters X, XV, XVI, and XVII.
- HOYT, FRANKLIN CHASE. *Quicksands of Youth*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.
A book of stories about youth's encounters with the law.
- LYND, ROBERT S. and HELEN M. *Middletown*. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York. See Chapter XXIV, especially pages 427-434.
- MAGRUDER, FRANK ABBOTT. *American Government*. Allyn and Bacon, Boston.
See Chapters XIV, XV, and XXI-XXIV.
- MARRIOTT, CRITTENDEN. *How Americans are Governed*. Harper & Brothers, New York. See Chapter LIX, "Courts"; Chapter LX, "Police."
- MARSHALL, LEON C. *Readings in the Story of Human Progress*. The Macmillan Company, New York. See pages 368-373.
- MOLEY, RAYMOND. *Our Criminal Courts*. Minton, Balch & Company, New York.
How our system of justice works.
- OSBORNE, THOMAS MOTT. *Within Prison Walls*. D. Appleton and Company, New York.
- SPARKS, F. M. *Government as a Business*. Rand McNally & Company, Chicago.
- SULLIVAN, EDWARD DEAN. *Chicago Surrenders*. The Vanguard Press, New York.
Gangsters, crime, and racketeering in Chicago. See also his *Rattling the Cup on Chicago Crime*, published by the same company.
- THRASHER, FREDERIC M. *The Gang*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago. An excellent study of gangs and gangland.
- WELLMAN, F. L. *A Day in Court*. The Macmillan Company, New York.
- ZANE, JOHN M. *Story of the Law*. Ives Washburn, Inc., New York.

UNIT V

THE PRESS AND AMERICAN CULTURE

THE PRESS AND AMERICAN CULTURE

In our attempt to understand the culture of the American people we come now to a study of the press. By the press we mean especially the newspapers, magazines, and books read by the American people. The reading of newspapers, magazines, and books influences our opinions and beliefs in an important way. Thus, to understand the mind of the American we must understand what he reads.

Furthermore, it will be necessary to know something of how printing and publishing developed as the simple pioneer civilization gave way to our complicated urban one. Hence in Chapter XIV we shall take up the story of American newspapers, magazines, and books. We shall ask such questions as, What did the people read? To what extent were newspapers, magazines, and books written by Americans and published in America? How widespread was their influence?

With this historical background we shall discuss in Chapter XV the reading of the American people today. Because of their very great influence upon our minds we shall pay special attention to the newspapers. We shall ask such questions as, What is news? What do the newspapers print? What rôle does advertising play in determining what the newspapers print? How are the newspapers changing as our new civilization changes?

Through such study we shall prepare ourselves to consider how the press helps to mold our opinions and beliefs.

CHAPTER XIV

THE STORY OF AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, AND BOOKS

We live in a world of print!

A tired newspaper man from a busy city sought to get away from the world of newsprint in which he lived. He went to the desert of the American Southwest and there, on a lonely twenty-five-mile Indian trail which was seldom used by people, he camped in an abandoned cabin. "Here," he said, "I can get away from the news, from print."

He had scarcely entered the shack, however, when his eye lighted upon two printed pamphlets hanging above the stove — an almanac and a cookbook. Couldn't he escape print, even there? When night came he made up his bed. There beneath his mattress was layer upon layer of newspapers. More print! The next morning he discovered upon a shelf above the door an old copy of a popular magazine and a book of Cowper's poems, both of which had probably been left by a former tenant. On the slab of bacon he had brought was printed the name of the packer. More print proclaimed that it had been passed by a government inspector. The bag containing flour, the molasses tin, the oranges, even the chinaware displayed lines of print. Everywhere the printed word assailed him, even in this primitive, out-of-the-way place.

We do, indeed, live in a world of print! Few of us are ever long out of sight of printed newspapers, printed books, printed tickets, printed labels, printed trade-marks, printed programs, printed menus — *something* in print. Almost every community has its printing shop. In some of these shops the type is still set and presses are still run by hand; in others type is set by machines and printing is done by huge manless presses. Today these printing shops flourish because nearly everyone reads.

As you probably know from your previous studies in American history, the prevalence of reading among the rank and file is a recent matter. In colonial days, for example, there were few schools, and many grown-up people had never learned to read. But the idea of public education spread in the early 1800's,

TABLE XXXI

| PER CENT OF AMERICANS UNABLE TO READ, 1880-1920 | |
|--|------|
| 1880 | 17.0 |
| 1900 | 10.7 |
| 1910 | 7.7 |
| 1920 | 6.0 |

bringing with it a great increase in the number of schools and pupils. By the latter 1800's elementary education had become well-nigh universal. From that time on the percentage of illiteracy steadily declined (see

Table XXXI.) By 1920 only six in every hundred of our people were unable to read. About half of these were people of such little intelligence that they did not have the ability to learn to read. Today the American who has not learned to read is an exception, indeed. With a system of public education and with the printed word facing us at every turn, we have become a nation of readers.

THE PRINTING PRESS ITSELF IS A MODERN INVENTION

Now that newspapers, magazines, and books are so easily obtained, we can scarcely imagine that there was a time in our recent history when they were not only expensive but very rare; when they were stained, worn, and torn from much borrowing.

But still more difficult to imagine is a time, only 500 years ago, when there were no printing presses in the world. In those days there were books, of course, but they were all *written* laboriously by hand. These hand-written books were rare, indeed. Few people knew how to read, and fewer could afford to buy books.

Then came the year 1450 and with it the invention of the first movable types by John Gutenberg, of Mainz, Germany. He molded the letters of the alphabet separately in lead. These letters were arranged to form words, and the words were then set in lines. The page of words was smeared with ink and pressed to paper. From our point of view, the process was very slow, since everything was done by hand. But it was a great advance

over handwriting, for, once a page of type was set, many copies of the same page could be made from it. This process is regarded as the beginning of modern printing.

By 1480 William Caxton had set up the first printing press in England. From that time printing spread more rapidly. By 1500 there were presses in more than 100 towns and cities throughout the continent of Europe. The printed word had come to stay.

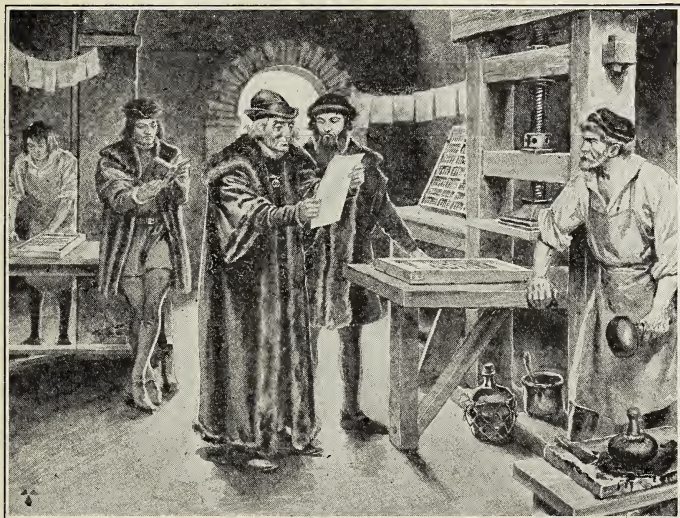


FIG. 130. John Gutenberg's printing establishment. Note the simple press on the right and the printed paper hanging up to dry

In 1639, nine years after the landing of the Puritans at Massachusetts Bay, the first printing press was set up in the American colonies at Cambridge. Presses, type, and paper were so expensive, however, that for a long time little but almanacs, sermons, and laws were printed. Gradually printers began to come to the other colonies and set up their little hand presses. But it was not until nearly 1700 that an attempt was made to print a newspaper.

Let us turn back to these colonial days and trace quickly the story of newspapers, magazines, and books in our country. As

you read, ask yourself what was happening in America during each period. Were the times calm and peaceful, with few problems facing the people? Or were they stirring periods when news was eagerly awaited and differing opinions were heatedly discussed?

I. THE NEWSPAPER — FROM MONTHLY TO DAILY

As we have said, for more than 80 years after the first settlement in America, no attempt was made to establish a news-

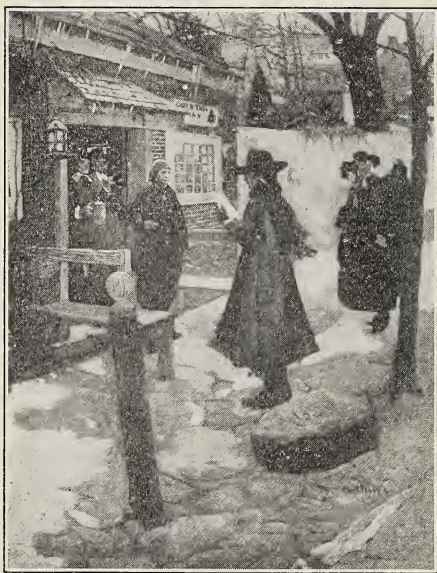


FIG. 131. Before newspapers were common, the bellman went from door to door reading the important news of the colonies and the proclamations of the kings and governors. (From a painting by Stanley M. Arthurs)

paper. There was news, of course, but it circulated mostly by word of mouth and came chiefly from travelers and ship captains and sailors. As soon as ships were sighted in the harbors, the population — all save the very old or the very young — hurried to the wharfs to get the news. Almost every word which the captain uttered was told and retold throughout the colony. Travelers from other colonies along the seaboard brought news of their own communities and compared foreign news, adding a bit of information here and putting in more details there. And so the news

was spread, chiefly by word of mouth, until 1690.

In 1690, however, Benjamin Harris of Boston issued the first newspaper in the British colonies. It was called *Publick Occur-*

rences both *Foreign and Domestick*. Harris promised his readers that the newspaper would appear once a month "or, if any glut of Occurrences happen, oftener." It never appeared again, however, for it displeased the governor of the colony, and Harris was forbidden to publish it. During this time, letters and British newspapers were brought to the colonies. Many of these were two months old or more, but they told of happenings in a world that had been left behind.

In 1704, however, the first regular newspaper was founded. In that year John Campbell, the postmaster at Boston, began to publish the *Boston News-Letter*. To us today it seems a very humble beginning. The newspaper, a sheet about the size of typewriter paper printed on both sides, contained a few local items, perhaps an extract or two from English papers, and some advertisements of farms to be sold or sailors wanted. Since it was small, little space could be used on details; so the news appeared in such form as this :

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| | His Excellency Dissolved the Gen. Assembly. | |
| | The Rd. Mr. Lockyer dyed on Thurs. last. ¹ | |

The paper was issued weekly, and the price was set by separate agreement between Campbell and each subscriber. Special issues (what we know today as "extras") were printed when it was thought necessary. Although news was brief in the regular issues, these extras were much more detailed. Nearly half of one of them, for example, was devoted to a description of the death of six pirates executed near Boston.

Many difficulties confronted Campbell in the management of the newspaper, but the chief of these was the collection of subscriptions. He struggled along, however, until the end of the year 1722, when he sold the *Boston News-Letter* to another publisher. First one person and then another bought it and tried to make a success of it. Finally, in 1776, it was discontinued altogether.

Campbell's struggle, however, did not prevent others from beginning new enterprises. The *Boston Gazette* and the *American*

¹ James Melvin Lee, *A History of American Journalism*, p. 20. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1917.

Weekly Mercury of Philadelphia were established in 1719. By 1725 both Massachusetts and Pennsylvania had six weekly newspapers each, and others had been founded in Maryland, South Carolina, Rhode Island, and Virginia. In 1729 young Benjamin Franklin established the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, which became one of the most influential newspapers of its day.

In those days circulations were small. Two or three hundred subscribers — provided they paid — made a newspaper successful. The church and the government wielded a heavy hand, and



© Detroit Publishing Company

FIG. 132. In the printing establishment of James Franklin, publisher of the *New England Courant*. His brother Benjamin (center) served his apprenticeship here. (From a painting by Charles E. Mills)

woe befell the editor who offended either of them. As we have said, *Publick Occurrences* was issued only once, because it offended the governor of the colony. In 1734 Peter Zenger, about whom you have read in your earlier study of American history, announced to the subscribers to his paper that he was dictating his newspapers to his "servants" through the "Hole in the Door" of the prison into which he had been thrown by the government.

But the church was losing its control, and there was discontent with the government of the mother country. Population, too, was growing. In spite of discouragements newspapers continued to spring up. Benjamin Franklin tells us that by 1771 there were 25 in the British colonies. By that time they had taken sides in the struggle between Great Britain and her Ameri-

can colonies and were influencing public opinion. The *Boston News-Letter*, which Campbell had founded, became a mouthpiece for the Tories and favored Great Britain, while Benjamin Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette* sided with the American patriots.

During the American Revolution subscriptions were so difficult to collect that even patriotic newspapers had to be discontinued. The Tory newspapers simply went out of existence. It is said, however, that news was so eagerly awaited by Washington's soldiers at Trenton that they squeezed enough money from their miserable allowances to keep one newspaper in print. During the controversy over ratification of the Constitution, newspapers again played an important part in influencing public opinion. It is reported that those papers which argued against ratification of the Constitution were short-lived.

By this time also, statesmen and politicians used the newspapers as a means of furthering their political causes. *The Gazette of the United States*, founded in 1789, was controlled by Alexander Hamilton, who led the Federalists. On the other hand, *The National Gazette* became the mouthpiece of Thomas Jefferson, who was the leader of the Anti-Federalists, or Republicans.

In spite of the fact that many newspapers died early deaths, by 1810 the number had grown to 366. The issues also became more frequent. Weeklies became semiweeklies, then triweeklies, and at last dailies.

In the meantime, newspaper publishing traveled westward with the settlement of the continent. Recall that by 1783 the boundary of the United States extended as far west as the Mississippi. After 1800 the states west of the Appalachians were rapidly being filled up. By 1830 so many communities had sprung up west of the Alleghenies that in the state of Illinois alone there were more dailies than the whole nation had counted in 1790. There were newspapers even in Indiana, Arkansas, and Texas. It is well to remember as we continue the story of newspapers that, as the frontier moved westward, newspapers sprang up in the communities which grew up behind it.

During the decade after 1830, a new kind of journalism appeared. This was the penny journals, or newspapers for the people. Before this time newspapers had been designed for the

few, but with the coming of cheap papers everyone could buy them. Newspapers which formerly had been filled with the details of long political arguments began to print stories, anecdotes, gossip, police-court news — whatever was real news and was interesting to the mass of the people.

In 1833 Benjamin Day founded the *New York Sun*, which was to be the first successful penny newspaper. He thought that the story of fights which landed people in the police courts was more interesting than an account of Jackson's attacks on the United States Bank. Evidently the people thought so, too. An Englishman visiting America in 1837 commented on the fact that "cabmen, boatmen, tapsters, oystermen, porters . . . will borrow the newspaper, read it readily and comment on it fluently and well."¹ Within three years, the *Sun* had a daily circulation of 27,000, which was about 25,000 more than the largest six-cent daily could boast.

Thus we see that there began to be newspapers for many different groups of people, consequently catering to many different tastes.

Improvements in printing

As newspapers acquired larger circulations and dailies began to appear, improvements were made in methods of printing. Among the earliest of these was an automatic inking device which took the place of the slow, unsatisfactory method of inking the type by hand. In 1814 Frederick König invented a cylinder press that would print both sides of the paper in one operation.

Not any of these improvements were so important, however, as was the application of steam power to the press. Recall that in the 1820's and 1830's steam was beginning to be used to run machines of all kinds. Trains were beginning to chug along the railroad tracks of the United States. Steamboats were plying up and down the rivers. In printing too, muscles were beginning to be replaced by steam power. Without the use of steam power, indeed, it is doubtful whether Day could have supplied his 27,000 subscribers with papers.

But still faster methods of printing were to be devised. In

¹ Silas Bent, *Ballyhoo*, p. 50. Horace Liveright, New York, 1927.

1845 Richard Hoe, an American inventor, had a novel idea. He devised a rotary press by which several impressions could be made as easily as one. In the König method a cylinder had been used for carrying the paper over the type. Hoe's idea was to fasten the type plates to small cylinders which were in turn fastened to a large drum (see figure 133). This drum was then turned by steam power. As each cylinder revolved, a printer stationed on a platform inserted a piece of paper between the

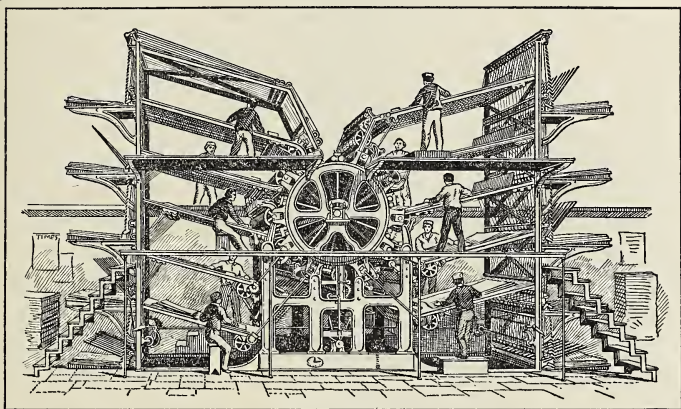


FIG. 133. Richard Hoe's ten-deck steam-driven printing press. (Courtesy of R. Hoe and Company, Inc.)

inked cylinder and the great drum. Thus in one revolution of the drum as many impressions were made as there were cylinders fastened to the drum. At first only four cylinders were used, but finally a huge press as large as a three-story building was perfected on which ten impressions were made at one revolution of the drum. Thus the need for more rapid production was met for a time. Until after the Civil War Hoe's press represented the best in newspaper-printing.

The middle of the century: enter several great editors

In the three decades before the Civil War several able newspaper editors founded newspapers which were to influence American life for more than half a century. Outstanding among

these were George D. Prentice, who founded the *Louisville Journal* in 1830; James Gordon Bennett, who founded the *New York Herald* in 1835; Horace Greeley, who founded the *New York Tribune* in 1841; and Henry J. Raymond, who founded the *New York Times* in 1851.

Each of these papers was started in a very modest way. It was said that Bennett founded the *New York Herald* with \$500, two wooden chairs, and a dry-goods box. The financial backing of the others was not much more substantial. Nevertheless, one by one, these newspapers became of great influence in politics, business, and social life. The editors wrote forceful editorials. They aroused great enmity among the political leaders whom they attacked, but each had a large following of enthusiastic supporters. Many people depended upon these editors for their opinions. It was not uncommon, for example, for a man to say to his family: "Wait until the *Tribune* comes, and I'll tell you what I think about that matter."

Bennett wrote most of his own editorials. When they aroused the anger of his subscribers, he is reported to have said:

I tell the honest truth in my paper, and leave the consequences to God. Could I leave them in better hands? . . . I never will abandon the cause of truth, morals, and virtue.¹

The editorials in the *Tribune*, however, were written by various members of the editorial staff, each of whom was permitted to voice his own opinion. Voice them they did on all the issues of the day. During the long slavery controversy, Greeley and his staff were a rallying point for the antislavery people. One prominent lecturer said of the influence of this newspaper: "The *Tribune* comes next to the Bible all through the West."

One by one, between 1869 and 1872, these first great American editors passed on. By then newcomers had taken their places, and other newspapers attained prominence. E. L. Godkin founded *The Nation* in 1865, a journal which soon became a powerful influence in molding public opinion. About the same time Charles A. Dana gave new life and energy to the *New York Sun* and in-

¹ Allan Nevins, *American Press Opinion*, p. 118. D. C. Heath and Company, New York, 1928.

creased its circulation by supplying the public with human-interest stories.

When the elder Bennett died (1872), he passed on to his son, James Gordon Bennett, Jr., one of the greatest money-making papers in the history of American journalism. The younger Bennett continued many of his father's policies, among them that "in every species of news, the *Herald* will be one of the earliest of the early." A financial department was created, which gave quotations on stocks and bonds, and more emphasis was placed on foreign news.

Newspapers "made for the millions"

Then came the age of industrial expansion of the eighties and nineties, of which you have read in earlier volumes. These years were marked by changes in the newspaper business corresponding to those in other fields. You will recall that, as railroads, coal companies, iron-and-steel companies, harvester companies, and others consolidated into great corporations, groups of small stores followed their example. In one city after another department stores were formed. Steadily they became larger and larger. As this happened, the newspapers saw the rich financial prize to be had from the advertising of these great stores. But to secure advertising a paper must have a large circulation, that is, it must have many readers. Hence, instead of writing for the "best" people, for the few intelligent readers, editors saw that they must



FIG. 134. Greeley, Raymond, and Bennett making the "witches' brew." The political writings of these three editors stirred their enemies to caricature them in this way. (From *Vanity Fair*, October 5, 1861)

write for the masses. Writing must be thrilling, and the vocabulary must be within the reach of all the people.

Thus a race for increased circulation began among the newspapers of the large cities. In this race two New York newspapers led the way — *The World* and the *New York Journal*, under the direction, respectively, of Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst.

In the seventies Pulitzer had made a fortune with his *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, but at the same time he had become exceedingly unpopular because of the part played by his paper in political and other campaigns. In 1883 he moved to New York and bought the *New York World* from Jay Gould for \$346,000. At once Pulitzer increased the circulation for *The World* by publishing a paper "made for the millions," for the masses, instead of for the few.

He attracted support for his newspaper not only by the dramatic form of its writing but also by the crusades which he waged for the public good. Year in and year out, the *New York World* fought for the reform of politics and the Civil Service. It helped to punish dishonest officeholders. It compelled the Secretary of the Treasury to sell Federal bonds to the general public rather than to the great financial houses of Wall Street. It worked for free ice for the relief of the mothers and babies in the tenements of the great city. It provided country outings for poor children. It brought about the elimination of tolls exacted for the use of Brooklyn Bridge. While other journals of the country were demanding war in the nineties *The World* fought for arbitration and was successful in helping to prevent open rupture between the United States and Great Britain.

In each of these great campaigns the newspaper increased its circulation. Its stories were dramatic, even sensational; its style was adapted to the limited reading ability of the mass of the city people.

Enter yellow journalism

Then came another development. Sensational newspapers, already existing in various cities of the country, appeared in New York. These papers used every means to beat one another in the race for increased circulations and the huge profits to be

THE



SUN.

NUMBER 1.]

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1833.

[PRICE ONE PENNY.]

PUBLISHED DAILY,

AT 222 WILLIAM ST. JEREMIAH M. DAY, PAINTER.

The object of this paper is to lay before the public, at a price within the means of every one, all the news of every day, and at the same time afford an advantageous medium for advertising. The sheet will be enlarged as soon as the increase of advertisements requires it—the price remaining the same.

Yearly subscribers (without the paper.) Thirty Dollars per annum—Cash advertising, at the usual price charged by the city papers.

Subscriptions will be received, if paid in advance, at the rate of three dollars per annum.

FOR ALBANY—PASSAGE ONLY \$1.

The large and commodious steamboat COMMENCE, Capt. R. M. Finch, will leave the foot of Courtlandt street on Friday, at five o'clock, P. M. for Albany, stopping at the usual landing places to land and receive passengers. Passage \$1. For particulars apply to the Captain on board.

From New York, Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays. From Albany, Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays.

FOR NEWPORT AND PROVIDENCE.

The splendid steamboat BENJAMIN TRAVELER, Capt. R. E. Bunker, and the PRESIDENT, Capt. R. E. Bunker, will leave New York at 5 o'clock, P. M. and Providence at 11 o'clock, M. every Monday, Wednesday and Friday. For further information apply to the Captain on board foot of Courtlandt-st. or at the office, 14 Broad-st.

FOR HARTFORD—PASSAGE 1 DOLLAR.

THOMAS BY DAYLICK. The splendid steamboat COMMENCE.

AN IRISH CAPTAIN.

"These are as sweet a pair of pistols as any in the three kingdoms," said an officer, showing a pair to a young student of his acquaintance, "and have done execution before now, at the slightest touch, of thy go, as sweet as honey, without either recoiling or dipping. I never fired without them."

"I never heard of highwaymen in this part of the country."

"Nor I," replied the officer, "and if I had I should not trouble myself to carry the pistols on their account—Highwaymen are a species of sharks who are not fond of attacking us toasters; they know we are a little too hard to crack. No, my dear sir, highwaymen know that soldiers have not much money, and what they have they fight for."

"Sure that is the case, how come you to travel always with pistols?"

"Because," answered the officer, "I find them very useful in accommodating any little difference I may accidentally have with a friend, or which one friend may chance to have with another."

"Do you often settle differences in that way?"

"Why, I was twice and before I arrived at my age—the first time was with a relation of my own, who said he would see my courage tried before he would contribute with the others towards the purchase of my first commission, and I set him word that I would be happy to give him one proof the very next morning, and when we met, I touched him so smartly in the leg, that he has bled ever since. But all his doubts being now removed, he cheerfully contributed his quota with the rest of my rank, and we have been very good friends ever since."

"Provided you had a good cause," replied the young student.

"I should not be acquainted respecting the cause, provided I had a good bottle; that, my dear sir, is what is the most essential to a conscientious officer, who wishes to improve himself in his profession. I have much reason, therefore, to wish for a war; and at the present juncture, it would be much to the advantage of the nation in general, as it is dividing into a convulsion of ploughmen, manufacturers, and merchants. And you must know, too, that I am pretty formidable, having already stood thirteen shots, and I never was hit but once."

"Thirteen! what have you fought thirteen duels?"

"No, no!" replied the captain, "the last shot fired at me completed only my sixth duel."

Wonders of Lintners—Pliny and Elian relate that Hyacinthos wrought out of ivory a chariot, with four wheels and four horses, and a ship with all her tackling, both in so small a compass, that a bee could hide either with its wings. Nor should we doubt this, when we find it recorded in English history, on less questionable authority, that in the twentieth year of Queen Elizabeth's reign a blacksmith of London, of the name of Mark Scallott, made a lock of iron, steel, and brass of eleven pieces, and a pipe key, all of which only weighed one grain. Scallott also made a chain of gold, of forty-three links, which he fastened to the lock and key, and put it round the neck of a fife, which drew the whole with perfect ease. The chain, key, lock, and fife, altogether weighed but one grain and a half!

Hedrinus Junis saw at Mechlin in Brabant, a cherry-tree from the foot of a basket in St. Peter's Church.

Anything You Want?

Get today's "Grip" independent of the money market. Your Work, Better, Available.

NEW YORK JOURNAL AND ADVERTISER.

NEW YORK, SUNDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1897. 61 PAGES.

"WANTS"

Printed and by the Sunday Morning "World." Sent free by mail to all who send a note to the Editor.

PRICE 5 CENTS.

MISS EVANGELINA CISNEROS RESCUED BY THE JOURNAL.

An American Newspaper Accomplishes at a Single Stroke What the Best Efforts of Diplomacy Failed Utterly to Bring About in Many Months.

TAKEN FROM HER LOSTHOUSE, HAVANA PRISON BY A COURAGEOUS CORRESPONDENT.

NOW ON HER WAY TO NEW YORK UNDER THE SHELTER OF THE STARS AND STRIPES.

By Clara Dowl.
(Illustrated after W. B. Brown.)
HAVANA, Oct. 2, via Key West, Fla., Oct. 30.—Evangelina Cisneros is a Cuban girl, and the Journal's first place to be credit the greatest journalistic coup of this age. It is no illustration of the methods of new journalism, and it will find no antecedents in the history of any woman who has met in the hostile atmosphere of the press girl who has been snatched for others from under the very eyes of the world.

The Journal, finding that all other methods were failing, decided to secure her liberation through force, and this, as the specially appointed correspondent of the Journal, I have succeeded in doing.

I have broken the bars of Havana and have set free the beautiful captive of misfortune. My countrymen, see in her beauty and nobility, and doing by courage, skill and strength what would not be accomplished by petition and tergiversation of the Pope.

What would have the Queen be the most charming of



FIG. 135. The change which took place in the appearance of newspapers between the years 1833 and 1897 is well illustrated in the reproductions above

made from large advertisers. They were also responsible for the development of what later became known as yellow journalism, which was to have great influence on the newspapers of the country. Instead of standing for the arbitration and peaceful settlement of impending war between nations, such papers sometimes actually precipitated war.

These "yellow" newspapers adopted such extreme devices to secure public attention as spectacular headlines, sensational pictures of murder scenes, dramatic stories of robberies, divorces, and scandals. Their reporters went to almost any length to secure a "beat" — that is, to obtain news before rival reporters could get it. It has been shown that they pried into the private lives of prominent people, secretly trailed them, sneaked into their estates, climbed fire escapes and fences and spied through windows; in fact, did anything to add a spicy bit to the news. Thus it was that yellow journalism entered the newspaper world in the 1890's and early 1900's.

After 1900 even the more conservative newspapers reflected the influence of the yellow journal. Headlines became larger; the style of writing became more dramatic. The front page changed decade by decade. Only a few of the older and more staid newspapers succeeded in resisting the temptation toward sensationalism.

More improvements in printing

The great number of sensational newspapers printed would have been impossible had it not been for certain improvements which developed in the printing industry. Electrotyping — that is, duplicating a page of type by means of electricity — was made practical. Then there were improvements made in the presses themselves; for example, the use of one continuous roll of paper instead of separate sheets, and automatic devices for folding papers. As a result of these and other improvements, a roll of paper is fed today into one end of a gigantic press and comes out at the other end as a newspaper — printed, folded, piled, counted, and ready for distribution. Some presses turn out as many as 320,000 copies of a twelve-page paper in one hour.

As new methods were found to print at more rapid speeds,

quicker methods of setting type were needed. The old hand method was little improved until 1886, when Ottmar Mergenthaler, a German immigrant, invented a machine that would mold letters of type, arrange them in words, and put the words together in solid lines of type in the form of leaden casts, or slugs. The machine had a keyboard resembling that of a typewriter and was operated in somewhat the same way. This invention was called a linotype. The machine is still used by most large newspapers today.

Other features were added. About 1885, for example, newspapers began to use pictures to increase their attractiveness. The new method of making halftones enabled publishers to reproduce photographs (figure 136 is a halftone). The yellow journals especially made use of these illustrations to enliven their pages and increase their popularity.

Improvements which had been made in other fields were also adopted by newspapers. The typewriter is one example. Whereas the reporter of earlier times wrote his "copy" painstakingly by hand, after the invention of the typewriter he wrote it more rapidly and clearly by machine. News-gathering also became swifter and more world-wide as newspapers received their news over the telegraph, the cable, the telephone, and, finally, the radio.

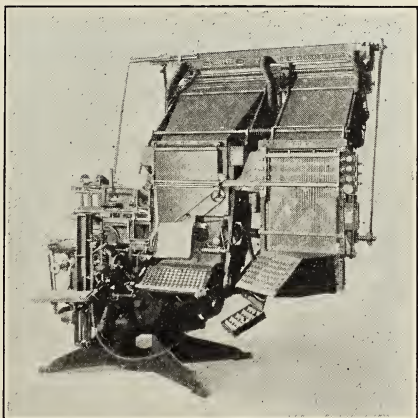


FIG. 136. The linotype machine used by many printing establishments today. Credit for this idea belongs to Mergenthaler

The associated press and other news-gathering agencies

As the United States increased in size and in population, it became increasingly difficult for each newspaper to get all the news. As early as 1848, several of the New York newspapers

formed an organization for the collection and distribution of the news. Gradually branch offices were established, and agents were sent out to gather the news from every part of the country. Whatever news was obtained by any agent could be used by all members of the organization. From this small beginning grew the world-wide Associated Press of today.

In every city in the country, the Associated Press has agents who telegraph news each day to central offices. These offices in turn "put it on the wire" to the hundreds of newspapers which belong to the association. But not only does the Associated Press serve every district of the United States; it also reaches around the world. In every important capital of the six continents of the earth its agents gather the news and cable it to the American headquarters, whence it is sent out all over the country.

Other news-gathering agencies (news syndicates) such as the United Press and the International News Service grew up after 1890. Today these organizations also supply their subscribing newspapers with news of the entire world. Each day the United Press alone sends 10,000 words of news over the cables of the world. It has 36 offices located in the cities of the United States and 28 offices in foreign countries. It leases a total of 105,000 miles of telegraph wire, and its news reports are read each day by not less than 20,000,000 Americans.

One newspaper man says of the organization of a great news-gathering and news-distributing agency :

The news item from Moscow that occupies half a column in your afternoon paper was written first by the United Press correspondent there and telegraphed to Riga; rehandled there and cabled to London; rewritten again and cabled to New York, where it was again edited and telegraphed to your home-town paper. There it was submitted to another process of editing, prepared for the linotype machine, set up, edited in proof form, and finally printed.

Often a single item will pass through the hands of as many as thirty skilled newspaper men before it reaches your eye. . . .

I remember sitting at my desk in New York years ago and receiving three "flashes" simultaneously. One came from Winnipeg, announcing a knock-out in a prize fight; one from Los Angeles, where a grand stand had collapsed; the third reported that the President in Washington had signed an important bill. Each of these bits of news was less

than a minute old; and in less time than it takes to tell, all three of them were on their way to the eight hundred and fifty newspapers which receive United Press service.¹

By means of these syndicates, the news of the world comes to each of us through our daily newspapers. The same news is read in Boston, San Francisco, Galveston, St. Paul — in every community in which there is a newspaper member of the syndicate. No longer do we have to wait two months or more until chance brings the news to us. So much has mass production in news-gathering done for us.

The newspapers also entered Big Business

As circulations grew and many improvements were made, the newspapers became large enterprises. Table XXXII, for example, gives some of the facts regarding the *New York Times*, which is one of our metropolitan papers.

TABLE XXXII

This newspaper is not the largest by any means, yet you can see how much business is involved in the management of one paper. Notice that 99,000

| FACTS ABOUT THE <i>NEW YORK TIMES</i> , 1927 | |
|--|--------------|
| Gross income | \$27,424,000 |
| Paper consumed (tons) | 99,000 |
| Employees | 3,319 |
| Pages printed | 13,500,000 |
| Average number of pages in one issue : | |
| Daily | 46 |
| Sunday | 225 |

tons of paper were consumed in 1927 by the *Times* alone. In the entire country in the same year 13,750,000 tons of white paper were consumed by newspapers.

Do not these figures suggest that large amounts of capital were needed to build these enterprises? No longer could city journals be started "with \$500, two wooden chairs, and a dry-goods box." Newspapers began to be valued in millions of dollars. As this happened newspapers too entered Big Business. Like Big Business in other fields corporations were organized to supply the capital to start new papers or to expand old ones. Today many of our newspapers are owned by corporations.

¹ Bruce Barton, "Things that interest you most in your Newspaper," *The American Magazine*, July, 1923, pp. 180, 182.

In another way newspapers adopted the methods of Big Business. Just as a number of oil companies, steel companies, and other kinds of companies bought out or merged with competitors,

so newspapers too bought out or merged with competitors. Therefore newspaper corporations increased in power and newspapers decreased in number. Table XXXIII shows how the number of newspapers declined in sixteen years.

One student in this field says :

When Chicago, our second largest city, was half its present size it had seven morning papers ; now it has but two. Cleveland, which had three morning papers a quarter of a century ago, now has but one.



FIG. 137. This cartoon illustrates what happened in one city. Each headstone stands for a newspaper which was bought out or merged with others. (Courtesy of the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*)

In Philadelphia the *Times*, *Press*, *Telegraph*, *News*, *North American*, and *Item* have gone to the journalistic graveyard during this generation.¹

The number of papers is also growing smaller in other large cities. In 1924 Pittsburgh had seven newspapers ; in 1927 it had

TABLE XXXIII

| YEAR | NUMBER OF DAILY PAPERS | NUMBER OF SUNDAY ISSUES | AGGREGATE CIRCULATION PER DAILY ISSUE |
|----------------|------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1914 | 2580 | 571 | 28,777,454 |
| 1926 | 2001 | 541 | 36,000,000 |
| 1930 | 1942 | 521 | 39,600,000 |

but three, and each of these belonged to a national "chain" of papers. The whole state of Maryland once had 26 daily newspapers ; now it

has 14. Detroit has but one morning newspaper ; St. Paul and Minneapolis each but one. In 1890 New York had eleven morning papers ; now it has five.

¹ Silas Bent, *Ballyhoo*, p. 260. Horace Liveright, New York, 1927.

The rapid development of chains of newspapers

As newspapers increased their profits their owners bought up old newspapers and established new ones in other parts of the United States. The chain idea entered the newspaper business as it had other industries; that is, the same corporations began to own newspapers in many cities of the country. In 1924 there were already 30 newspaper chains in the United States. In 1927, however, this number had grown to 55, and the chains controlled 230 daily newspapers.

The largest of these newspaper chains is that controlled by William Randolph Hearst. The Hearst chain stretches from coast to coast. From San Francisco to New York almost every large city has a Hearst newspaper. So great is the combined circulation of these newspapers that it is estimated that they enter daily one home out of four in the United States. The next largest newspaper chain is the Scripps-Howard chain, which controls 26 daily newspapers in such separated cities as San Francisco, Washington, Baltimore, New York City, Albuquerque (New Mexico), Denver, and Birmingham (Alabama).

On the average we have better newspapers than any other country in the world. And what a great variety of them! We have newspapers printed in almost every known language. We have dailies and we have Sunday newspapers. We also have extras when special local, national, or international events occur. We have conservative papers and we have radical papers. We have newspapers suitable for every sort of community, for every political, economic, and cultural taste.

In spite of the development of Big Business we still have the one-man newspapers in the small towns, where the owner is reporter, editor, typesetter, printer, and even distributor of a couple of hundred of copies, which come weekly from his press. Our most widely influential papers, however, are huge syndicated dailies of large cities, each using perhaps 50,000 tons of paper yearly, employing hundreds of people, and printing millions of pages daily.

While these stirring developments were taking place, what was happening in the field of magazines?

II. A BRIEF STORY OF THE MAGAZINE IN AMERICA

The first American magazines

Settlement in America was more than a century old before the first American magazine was established. Indeed, not for 50 years after the publication of the first newspaper did an American printer attempt to establish a magazine.

It is not difficult to understand the factors which caused this delay. The cost of printing presses, of paper, and of distribution was so great that no one was willing to risk it. The subscription prices of magazines were made so high that few people could afford to buy them. Magazines were luxuries; they were for entertainment rather than for reporting the news. In addition, there were almost no creative writers in America who could produce articles, poems, or stories. Persons of wealth, therefore, subscribed to British publications. Not until nearly the middle of the eighteenth century, then, did the colonists produce a magazine of their own.

In 1741, however, Andrew Bradford published *The American, or a Monthly View of the Political State of the British Colonies*, and Benjamin Franklin issued *The General Magazine or Historical Chronicle for all the British Plantations in America*. Both magazines were short-lived: the former ran three issues; the latter, six.

During the next half-century more than 40 magazines were launched. Most of them lasted only a year or two, some only for a few issues. Four of them, however, achieved real success. The first was the *Columbian Magazine*, a periodical which owed its popularity to the fiction which it published. The second was the *New York Magazine* containing biography, essays, verse, stories, and articles on the theater and travel. The other two successful magazines were Mathew Carey's *American Museum* and the *Massachusetts Magazine*.

Even these four magazines, however, were handicapped by lack of interesting material, and their circulations never became large. Much of their content was borrowed from English sources. Many articles dealt with religion or politics and were long and dull. The aims of the editors were more often to instruct than to

entertain. Note in the following quotation the kind of material which the *New England Magazine* of 1758 claimed to contain :

CONTAINING AND TO CONTAIN

Old-fashioned writings and Select Essays,
 Queer Notions, Useful Hints, Extracts from Plays ;
 Relations Wonderful and Psalm and Song,
 Good Sense, Wit, Humour, Morals, all ding dong ;
 Poems and Speeches, Politicks, and News,
 What *Some* will like and other *Some* refuse ;
 Births, Deaths, and Dreams, and Apparitions, Too ;
 With Some Thing suited to each different Geu [taste]
 To Humour *Him*, and *Her*, and *Me*, and *You*.¹

It must be remembered that although the early magazines were lacking in creative and interesting qualities, they included practically all the worth-while literature written in America at the time.

Then between 1800 and 1825 many new magazines
 appeared

After the American Revolution, as the westward movement developed and towns and cities grew, a widespread demand was heard for American magazines. Original native writers were beginning to appear in the Eastern states. People began to depend less upon British literature. As the following verse from a newspaper of that time shows, nearly every town of any size in the country tried to publish a magazine.

This is the Age of Magazines —
 Even skeptics must confess it :
 Where is the town of much renown
 That has not one to bless it ?

.

Museums, Mirrors, Monthlys — strike
 Our view in crowds and dozens :
 And so much do they look alike
 We see they all are cousins.

¹ Algernon de Vivier Tassin, *The Magazine in America*, p. 2. Dodd, Mead and Company, New York, 1915.

Their phizzes seem so thin and wan,
 So hopeless their conditions,
 They all must go to shades below
 In spite of their physicians.¹

Many of these magazines met the same fate as the earlier ones. As a matter of fact they were so uninteresting that it is little wonder that they all went "to shades below." The articles were heavy and the writing so flowery that, finally, one editor advertised for "a few sensible correspondents who will condescend to clothe their ideas in plain prose." In spite of their weaknesses however, a few of these magazines survived. For example, the *Port Folio*, one of the literary periodicals, ran for 26 years. It was "not quite a Gazette [newspaper], nor altogether a Magazine," for it contained "something of politics to interest Quidnuncs [busy-bodies] and something of literature to engage students."

Some of the magazines launched during that period have lived even to the present day. *The North American Review* was started in 1815, and the *Saturday Evening Post* was established in 1821.²

The golden age of periodicals, 1825-1850

Then came the period of even more rapid establishment of magazines. Women's magazines appeared and lower-priced literary weeklies became popular. Successful periodicals appeared in various parts of the country. *The Southern Literary Messenger*, *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine*, *The Knickerbocker*, *Graham's Magazine*, and others increased their circulation because they aimed to entertain rather than to instruct.

This was the period, also, in which America produced its first group of really effective writers. In the magazines of those days appeared poetry, stories, and essays by persons well known in the history of American literature — James Fenimore Cooper, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Washington Irving, William Cullen Bryant, and John Greenleaf Whittier, to name only a few.

¹ Quoted from the *Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, 1824, in Frank Luther Mott's *A History of American Magazines, 1741-1850* (D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1930), p. 126.

² *The Saturday Evening Post* dates its establishment as 1728. This is an attempt to show a connection between this magazine and the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, a newspaper, established in 1728 and taken over by Benjamin Franklin in 1729.

One of the most popular magazines was the famous *Godey's Lady's Book*, which reached a circulation of 150,000 just before the Civil War. This woman's magazine boasted that it brought "unalloyed pleasure to the female mind." It carried sentimental stories, and its fashion articles and illustrations appealed to the women of that day.

After the Civil War, magazines, like everything else in America, became "bigger and better." New magazines were established to rival the old ones. It was in this period that *Harper's Magazine*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, *Scribner's Magazine*, *The Century*, and *The Forum* grew up as rivals to the *North American Review*. Articles and other materials which made up the content improved as well-known authors were attracted to write for the magazines. Steadily circulations increased, and with the growth of circulations advertisements came to occupy an increasingly large part in the magazines.

New developments in magazine-publishing after 1900

The New Industrial Revolution worked its effects on magazines as on everything else in American life. Remarkable improvements in methods of photography, printing, and paper-making revolutionized the appearance and attractiveness of the magazines.

Then the development of nation-wide advertising campaigns produced vast incomes which made it possible to sell magazines for fifteen cents, ten cents, even five cents — as in the case of the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Collier's*, and *Liberty*. So great was the influence of advertising upon the publishing and distribution of magazines that in some cases the retail price of the magazine did not cover the cost of the paper upon which the magazine was printed.

The character of the magazines also began to change. In the early 1900's Samuel S. McClure started an avalanche of "literature of exposure" when he published Ida M. Tarbell's "History of the Standard Oil Company" in *McClure's Magazine*. Soon after this, a series of articles on "The Shame of the Cities," "The Railroads on Trial," and similar topics appeared, exposing to public opinion the evils of Big Business and its ally, politics. Circu-

lations increased by leaps and bounds as these sensational stories appeared.

McClure's success inspired other publishers, and soon there was a group of a half-dozen similar periodicals. At the same time came *Munsey's Magazine*, *The Cosmopolitan*, and other low-priced entertainment periodicals.

Finley Peter Dunne, a newspaper humorist who created the character "Mr. Dooley," has compared the older magazines with the new ones. Mr. Dooley, in one of his conversations, said:

"The magazines in thim days was very ca'ming to the mind. Angabel an' Alfonso dashin' f'r a marriage licence. Prom'nent lady authoresses makin' pomes at the moon. Now an' thin a scrap over whether Shakespear was entered in his own name or was a ringer. . . . But no wan hurt. Th' idee ye got fr'm these here publications was that life was wan glad sweet song. They were good readin' . . .

"But now whin I pick up me fav-rite magazine off th' flure, what do I find? Ivrything has gone wrong. Th' wurruld is little betther thin a convict's camp. . . . Graft ivrywhere. 'Graft in th' Insurance Comp'nies,' 'Graft in Congress.' . . . 'Graft in Its Relation to th' Higher Life.'" ¹

More recent developments

By 1915, however, the magazines of exposure had raised their prices and changed their appeal. The people had ceased to cheer so loudly for the literary crusaders. *The Saturday Evening Post* and *Collier's* dropped their lances and aimed to reach the growing army of business men with entertainment and practical instruction. *The American Magazine* specialized in the biographies of successful men, as it does today, while *Everybody's* and *McClure's* joined the fiction class.

Home magazines like the *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Good Housekeeping*, and the *Woman's Home Companion* became more numerous and more popular. The more conservative magazines stressed lively short essays, stories, and articles. Fiction magazines began to specialize in particular kinds of stories. One published detective stories only, another love stories. Still others

¹ Quoted in Mark Sullivan's *Our Times* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1930), Vol. III, p. 87.

printed Wild West stories, ghost stories, murder stories, railroad stories. It is said that more than 50 magazines offering aviation stories alone have been current in recent years.

Big Business has entered the magazine field as it has entered the field of newspapers. Today magazines are controlled by corporations. Some publishers print a half-dozen or more magazines. For example, one large magazine corporation publishes fifteen magazines; another publishes nine fiction magazines. And just as competing newspapers bought up other newspapers or merged with them, so magazines have bought up and merged with others, too. For example, *The Forum*, which we know today is a combination of the former *Forum* and *Century* magazines.

Stop and study the next large magazine stand you pass. Note the great variety which is displayed. You will find magazines that appeal to every mood, to every taste, every class, and every interest. Five-cent weekly magazines, fifteen-cent semimonthly magazines, twenty-five-cent to fifty-cent monthly magazines — magazines of too many different prices and types to describe. Some are written for serious consideration; others are written frankly and solely to entertain. Remember, also, that there are hundreds of magazines published in the United States which never reach the stands. This industry, not yet 200 years old, is a great and flourishing one. At least three of our magazines have attained a weekly circulation of more than 2,000,000 copies!

You have the story before you of newspapers and magazines. Is the story of books like that of the other two? Let us see.

III. THE STORY OF BOOKS IN AMERICA

During the first half-century of colonial life there was almost no printing of books in America. Books, indeed, were few and far between in the colonies, and many of these were printed in England and shipped across the ocean in the slow-going sailing vessels of that time. Such books as were available would be regarded today as a very curious assortment. For example, one morning in May, 1684, John Usher, in his little Boston bookshop, opened

a box of books that had just arrived from Chiswell, the London bookseller. In the box were

two Bibles, thirty Greek grammars, three copies of *Byhner on the Psalms* . . . ten copies of *Flavel on the Sacrament*, ten copies of *Cattechise*, two copies of the *Cambridge Concordance*, two of *Sellers' Practice of Navigation*, two of *Wilson's Christian Dictionary*, five of *Clark's Tutor*, four of *Burroughs' Gospel Remission*, and four of the *State of England* in two Volumes.¹



© J. L. G. Ferris

FIG. 138. Benjamin Franklin showing possible customers some of the books he had printed. (From a painting by J. L. G. Ferris)

Here were religious books, textbooks, books on navigation, and on the history of England. How different from the shelves of American bookshops today with their brightly jacketed volumes of fiction, biography, and autobiography; descriptions of changing civilizations in remote corners of the globe; poetry; plays; books on every conceivable subject and for every individual taste!

Even as late as 1784 books were mainly imported from abroad. There was some printing done by Americans, however, and in the earliest years we find the volumes written by Bradford, Winthrop, Sewall, Mather, and Edwards being printed in the colonial printing shops.

Later there was the reprinting of such British books as were popular on this side of the water — for example, *Robinson Crusoe*,

¹ Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, *The First Americans, 1607-1690*, p. 241. By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers, New York, 1927.

The Vicar of Wakefield, *Paradise Lost*, and the plays of Shakespeare. There were few American authors like the authors of these books; the books written by Americans were for the most part religious or political. Just previous to the Revolution and for a few years afterwards the American printers were busy turning out the political writings of such patriots as Woolman, Paine, Jefferson, Franklin, and Hamilton, all of whom had a tremendous influence on public opinion.

HOW AMERICAN LITERATURE DEVELOPED

As the new nation settled down to its first half-century of economic and political development, a more permanent national literature began to grow up. American writers of fiction, essays, and poetry appeared whose works were published in book form. There was for example, Charles Brockden Brown (1771–1810), who wrote the novels *Wieland* and *Arthur Mervyn*, stories of mystery, filled with dungeons, ghosts, and other horrors. There was Washington Irving, gentleman of leisure and of wide European travel, who wrote his famous *Knickerbocker's History of New York* and the stories and essays of *The Sketch Book*. So highly are these regarded that even today every school includes *The Sketch Book* in its reading curriculum. The new frontier life that was developing in and beyond the Appalachians was described in such books as *The Last of the Mohicans*, *The Deerslayer*, *The Prairie*, and *The Pioneer*, by James Fenimore Cooper. Not only were these books popular in the growing American states; they achieved an international reputation as well, being translated into several European languages and read widely among the people of western Europe.



FIG. 139. Washington Irving

Then, after the thirties and forties, came the essays and poetry of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and James Russell Lowell; the poetry of Walt Whitman, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and John Greenleaf Whittier; and the prose which was almost poetry of Henry Thoreau — all but Whitman being natives of New England. In New York William Cullen Bryant was editing the *New York Evening Post* and writing the verse which was afterwards to be published in book form. In other



FIG. 140. In this illustration the artist has painted portraits of prominent authors of the United States who were living in the middle 1800's. Perhaps you recognize the faces of some of them

cities along the Atlantic seaboard Edgar Allan Poe was editing one paper after another and at the same time pouring forth the short stories and verse that were to make him famous.

The printing of books by American authors was developing slowly during this period. Even by 1820 nearly three fourths of all the titles published here were reprints of the works of foreign authors. From that time, however, the number of American authors grew rapidly. By 1853 one American publishing house had issued 722 books by American authors and 827 reprints of foreign authors. Within the next few years the printing of American books increased more rapidly. By 1856 it was estimated that 80 per cent of the books coming from American presses were written by writers living in the United States.

Important factors which aided in the increase in American publication of American writings. More and more people were learning to read. Schools were spreading in the cities and towns, and hundreds of thousands of young children were learning to read in the elementary schools. Tens of thousands of young people were going to the new high schools and the older academies. Even among the rank and file of the people, by the middle of the century there was a growing demand for more books and for cheaper books.

The dime novel launched cheaper books

In 1860 a novel of 30,000 words was published by I. P. Beadle and Company for ten cents. It was called *Malaeska, the Indian Wife of a White Hunter*, and was written by Ann S. Stephens. Eagerly was it taken from the book stores by the reading public. Soon it was followed by such other dime thrillers as *Old Grizzly, the Bear-Tamer*; *The Phantom Hand*, or *The Heiress of Fifth Avenue*; *Roaring Ralph Rockwood, the Reckless Ranger*; *Black Beard, the Buccaneer*, or *The Curse of the Coast*. Ten thousand copies of some were sold in a week; other first editions ran to 60,000 copies. Some novels went through ten or twelve editions.

During the Civil War the sales mounted into millions. Here was cheap literature to entertain the soldiers on the battle fronts; adventure and romance for travelers on the railroads, hunters in camps, sailors on the sea, and the youth of cities and towns.

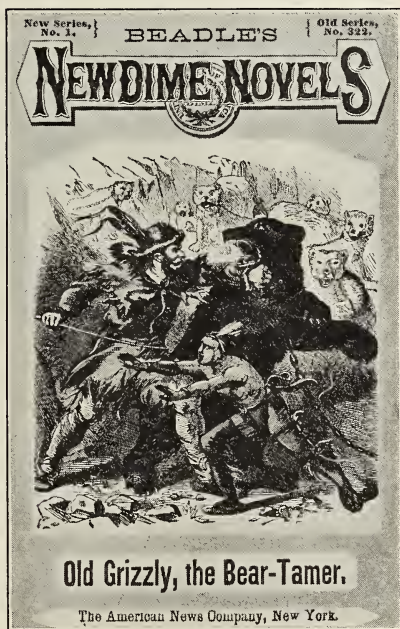


FIG. 141. The cover of one of the early dime novels. (From the collection of Western Americana of Dr. Frank P. O'Brien, New York)

The dime novels had never been of literary quality, but as their popularity grew they became of even poorer merit. Critics of the literature then being written by the New England and other writers denounced the dime novels as vulgar and sensational. Nevertheless they occupied an important place in the history of American bookmaking for many years after the middle of the nineteenth century.

Owing to the growing number of books that were being printed, competition among book-publishers increased in the 1870's and 1880's. Not only did they vie with one another in securing new American manuscripts, but they also reprinted foreign works, often without the permission of foreign authors and publishers.¹

It was in these years also that publishers developed the idea of selling books through the book agent. These agents went from house to house, selling books which their firms published. Through this house-to-house canvassing enormous sales of many new volumes were built up throughout the country. For example, 250,000 copies of Horace Greeley's *American Conflict* and 650,000 of Grant's *Memoirs* were sold, as well as 800,000 copies of *The Royal Path of Life*.

Crusading literature enters the field of books

In the story of the development of magazines you will recall that in the early 1900's articles appeared exposing the practices of Big Business and politics. Not long afterwards books too began to appear which reflected the same change in literature. One of the first of these was *The Jungle*, by Upton Sinclair. It portrayed the working and living conditions of immigrants in the employ of the great meat-packing companies of Chicago. Although written as a novel, it created a nation-wide demand to know the conditions under which our meat was being prepared. The effect of the book upon the American public is reflected by Mr. Dooley's comments :

"Dear, O dear, [says Mr. Dooley,] I haven't been able to ate annything more nourishin' thin a cucumber in a week. . . . A little while

¹ This practice, which still prevails in many European and Asiatic countries, was controlled to some extent in the United States after 1890 by the passing of more effective copyright laws.

ago no wan cud square away a beefsteak with better grace thin meself. . . . If you want to rayjooce ye're butcher's bills, buy *The Jungle*."

¹

As a result of the conditions which were disclosed by *The Jungle* and other investigations we have many of our pure-food laws today.

Other books of exposure followed. For example, Paul Leicester Ford's *The Honorable Peter Sterling* portrayed the evils of boss-



FIG. 142. Cartoons like this probably helped to decrease the public interest in books intended to expose public evils. (Cartoon by Herbert Johnson in the *Saturday Evening Post*. Copyright by Curtis Publishing Company. Reproduced by special permission)

controlled cities. Thomas Lawson wrote *Frenzied Finance*, exposing the evils of gambling in the stock market, while Frank Norris, in *The Octopus*, directed his attacks at the evils of the railroads. Evils in politics, business, and industry were assailed by a host of authors, and their books became the "best sellers" of their day. None of them, however, created such a nation-wide sensation as did *The Jungle*; none resulted directly in correcting any important evils or abuses. Enthusiasm for reform began to wane, and the public turned to a more cheerful kind of literature.

¹ Quoted in Peter Odegard's *American Public Mind* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1930), p. 243.

Recent changes in the content of books

By 1913 crusading and muckraking were almost forgotten, and literature had become optimistic. This optimism reached its height in the Pollyanna books. But by 1928 many novelists were turning again to problems, this time of cultural rather than of political or economic interest. This trend toward problem novels has lasted up to the present time. Sinclair Lewis, Theodore Dreiser, Sherwood Anderson, and others still write in that vein.

In addition to problem literature, other kinds of books, less important but greater in number, have appeared. There are pouring from our presses today countless numbers of mystery, murder, and detective stories — dime novels in modern dress.

In recent years, however, more serious literature has vied with fiction for the place of best seller. Will Durant's *Story of Philosophy*, Papini's *Life of Christ*, Van Loon's *Story of Mankind*, and biographies such as *The Education of Henry Adams* and *The Americanization of Edward Bok* have attained sales as high as those of popular fiction.

Book clubs

In the cities the house-to-house book agent has almost disappeared. This idea of increasing the sale of books has been supplanted by another plan — the book club. In America Samuel Craig planned the first book club in 1924. In April, 1926, the Book of the Month Club sent out its first selection. Other clubs sprang up soon after — the Literary Guild of America, the Free Thought Book Club, and others. Through the book clubs a book selected by leading critics and writers is delivered to one's home each month. By assuring the sale of books before publication these clubs have been able to decrease the price of books to their members, and many private libraries are increased with a regularity which has never been known before.

Today there are books coming from the press on every imaginable subject: education, politics, business, science, etiquette, sports, philosophy, religion, art, criticism, the radio, the "movies," even books on books. There are dozens of new novels printed every month and many books of plays, poetry, and essays.

In 1900, in the United States alone, 6356 new titles appeared. In 1929 the reading public had 8324 new titles from which to select and 1845 reprints of old books. And in that year a total of nearly 392,000,000 volumes were printed.

This must conclude our brief study of the rise of newspapers, magazines, and books in the United States. It is clear that these evolved only through hard struggles and many setbacks. They grew only as fast as improvements made possible better and cheaper methods of printing, and only as fast as the reading public grew.

As a result of improved methods of printing and of popular education, however, millions of newspapers, millions of magazines, and millions of books now come from our presses. The sheer number seems staggering. But divided among a population of 123,000,000 people, what do they mean? To what extent do the American people actually read? What do they read? Such questions will be the subject of the next chapter.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

See the readings listed in Chapter XV.

CHAPTER XV

WHAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE READ

"D'ye think people like th' newspaper iv th' presint time?" asked Mr. Hennessy.

"D'ye think they're printed f'r fun?" asked Mr. Dooley.



FIG. 143. A newspaper and magazine stand in the waiting room of one of our large railroad stations. What do you learn from the picture? (By Arthur Gerlach, from *Fortune*)

And Mr. Dooley expected no answer. Both he and Mr. Hennessy knew that newspapers are not printed for fun. Newspaper-publishing is a business, and newspapers are printed for profit. What they contain is essentially what the publishers think the American people want.

What do Americans want of their newspapers? They want news. They want to be entertained. They want their curiosity satisfied. They want excitement, thrills. In short, now that they have learned to read, they want reading matter suited to their different tastes.

THE EXTENT TO WHICH AMERICANS READ

For the first time in the history of the world, the greater part of the people of a large nation are reading. Compared with conditions of a century or even a half-century ago, the amount of reading material which Americans have at hand is overwhelming. Table XXXIV, for example, shows the number of newspapers, magazines, and books printed in a recent year. We do, indeed, live in a world of print.

TABLE XXXIV

| APPROXIMATE NUMBER OF NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, AND BOOKS PRINTED IN A RECENT YEAR | |
|--|-------------|
| Newspapers | |
| Daily | 40,000,000 |
| Sunday | 26,000,000 |
| Magazines | |
| Per issue | 178,000,000 |
| Books | 212,000,000 |

Certainly the habit of reading newspapers has changed greatly since the early 1700's, when tavern signs read: "Persons learning to read will please use last week's *Gazette*."

Let us study a little more closely the kinds of reading the American does.

I. THE READING OF NEWSPAPERS IN CITIES, TOWNS, AND VILLAGES

Table XXXV tells us how many morning, evening, and Sunday papers there are in the United States and what their respective circulations are.

In round numbers there were about as many evening newspapers and Sunday newspapers sold as there are families in the United States. This does not mean, of course, that every family in the United States takes a newspaper. While many families take none, many others take two or more. Individuals, likewise, especially in our larger cities and towns, purchase papers and

read them on their way to and from their work. Many of these newspapers never enter the home. Nevertheless the great majority of families have regular access to a newspaper.

We cannot conclude, however, from Table XXXV that the reading of newspapers is equally common all over the country — that in the medium-sized towns, small towns, and rural villages newspapers are read as frequently as in the cities. Statistics are at hand, however, which will help us to see how much news-

TABLE XXXV¹

| NUMBER AND CIRCULATION OF DAILY AND SUNDAY NEWSPAPERS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1930 | |
|---|------------|
| Morning daily papers | 388 |
| Evening daily papers | 1,554 |
| Sunday papers | 521 |
| Average morning circulation . . | 14,434,257 |
| Average evening circulation . . | 25,154,915 |
| Average Sunday circulation . . . | 26,413,047 |

paper-reading goes on in the typical middle-sized city. In "Middletown," in 1924, for example, 8851 copies of the local morning papers were distributed daily to the 9200 homes of the city. Thus more than nine tenths of the homes received a

morning paper. In addition, about 6700 evening papers were distributed to the homes. All the business-class families and about three fourths of the working-class families took a local paper each day.

In addition to this large use of local papers, approximately 1500 copies a day of large city newspapers are read in "Middletown" today. Most of these metropolitan papers are read by the business-class and professional-class families. Sixty per cent of these families took an out-of-town paper in addition to a local paper, while only 2 per cent of the working-class families did so.

The situation in "Middletown" is fairly typical of what is happening all over the country. In every section of the United States, newspapers of the large cities of the surrounding region are delivered daily to families in the small and medium-sized towns. Even in the little villages, a few people take metropolitan dailies, such as the *Chicago Tribune*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the *Detroit Free Press*, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, the *New York Evening Post*, the *New York World-Telegram*, or the *New York Times*.

¹ From *Editor and Publisher*, January 31, 1931.

We do not have complete statistics for the entire country which distinguish the circulation of cities from that of rural districts and villages. But Table XXXVI gives the facts for about half the newspapers published in the United States.

One conclusion is clear — namely, that many more newspapers are read in cities and the suburbs of cities than in towns, villages, and rural districts. Although not more than 55 per cent of the people live in communities with populations over 2500, fully three quarters of the papers are read in such communities.

TABLE XXXVI¹

| CITY, SUBURBAN, AND OTHER CIRCULATIONS OF 937 DAILIES AND SUNDAY PAPERS IN 1930 | | |
|--|----------------|----------------|
| Dailies | | |
| | <i>Morning</i> | <i>Evening</i> |
| City circulation . . . | 7,564,000 | 14,226,000 |
| Suburban circulation . | 3,079,000 | 4,426,000 |
| All other circulation . | 3,000,000 | 2,400,000 |
| Sunday Papers | | |
| City circulation . . . | 12,000,000 | |
| Suburban circulation . | 5,225,000 | |
| All other circulation . | 7,500,000 | |

II. THE READING OF MAGAZINES

Complete statistics are not available for magazines as they are for newspapers, but Table XXXVII gives the figures for the chief kinds of magazines published in 1927. Some of these magazines were weeklies; others were published twice a month or every month. Even supposing that they were all monthly magazines, the total of 178,000,000 would average more than one magazine every month to every man, woman, and child in the United States.

Like the newspapers, magazines are sometimes bought and read by only one person. Others are bought and read by several members of a family, and some are even passed on to other people outside the family group. Some families read no magazines whatever, while others subscribe for a half-dozen. You see how difficult it is to discover *exactly* how much magazine-reading is done by the American people. One fact is clear, however, that a large amount of magazine-reading is done each month by the people of the United States.

So widespread has the reading of light magazines become that

¹ From *Editor and Publisher*, January 31, 1931.

today there are ten magazines that have a monthly or weekly circulation of more than 2,000,000. One of them, the *Saturday*

TABLE XXXVII

| CIRCULATION OF MAGAZINES PER ISSUE IN 1927 | |
|---|-------------|
| General literature, family reading, fiction | 57,264,000 |
| Religious | 40,529,000 |
| Society, fashion | 30,097,000 |
| Agricultural and stock-raising . . | 18,288,000 |
| Fraternal (published by organizations) | 8,721,000 |
| Trade | 8,291,800 |
| Labor (published by organizations) | 3,525,000 |
| Commerce, finance, insurance . . | 2,721,000 |
| Sports | 2,032,000 |
| Motion picture | 1,666,450 |
| Science | 1,294,000 |
| Automobile, power boat, etc. . . | 1,279,000 |
| Medical | 909,350 |
| Art, music, drama | 831,000 |
| College and school | 770,000 |
| Total | 178,218,600 |

Evening Post, now distributes almost 3,000,000 copies each week. In addition, the Street-and-Smith combination of thrillers—*Far West, Complete Story Magazine, Detective Story, Love Story, Sport Story, Popular, Top Notch, Sea Stories*, and *Western Story Magazine*—now averages more than 1,000,000 each issue. *True Detective Mysteries* circulates nearly 500,000 and *Photoplay* more than 600,000.

Even the *Literary Digest*, specializing in dignified summaries of foreign and domestic news, and presenting two or more sides of every problem it treats has a circulation of more than 1,600,000.

In sharp contrast to the tremendous circulations of magazines publishing fiction, mystery, detective stories, and other human-interest material are the small circulations of the so-called “quality” magazines, like the *Atlantic Monthly*, *Scribner’s Magazine*, the *Forum*, and the *American*

TABLE XXXVIII

| TEN MAGAZINES WITH AN AVERAGE CIRCULATION PER ISSUE OF OVER 2,000,000 | |
|---|-----------|
| <i>Saturday Evening Post</i> | 2,924,000 |
| <i>Woman’s Home Companion</i> . . . | 2,606,000 |
| <i>McCall’s Magazine</i> | 2,505,000 |
| <i>Pictorial Review</i> | 2,502,000 |
| <i>Ladies’ Home Journal</i> | 2,582,000 |
| <i>Liberty</i> | 2,415,000 |
| <i>American Magazine</i> | 2,279,000 |
| <i>Collier’s</i> | 2,257,000 |
| <i>Delineator</i> | 2,003,000 |
| <i>True-Story Magazine</i> | 2,110,000 |

Mercury. As Table XXXIX shows, not more than one tenth of 1 per cent of the American people subscribe for any one of these!

What explains the difference in the circulation shown in Tables XXXVIII and XXXIX? The answer is, The kind of read-

ing matter in the two kinds of magazines! The magazines with large circulations are filled with human-interest material — sensational narratives and descriptions of unusual events, stories of prominent persons, mystery and detective stories, adventure thrillers, accounts of scandals, of achievements (success stories), of interesting personalities in the theater, in business, and in sports. The magazines with small circulations publish stories and articles of a more serious nature — those dealing with political, economic, and social problems, and criticisms of American life. Whereas the large-circulation magazines are “journals of entertainment,” those with small circulations are generally “journals of opinion.” Hence, while the former appeal to millions of our people, the latter attract only a few thousand.

TABLE XXXIX

| AVERAGE CIRCULATION PER ISSUE OF SEVERAL “QUALITY” MAGAZINES AND JOURNALS OF OPINION | |
|---|---------|
| <i>Atlantic Monthly</i> | 130,000 |
| <i>Harper's Magazine</i> | 121,000 |
| <i>The Forum</i> | 82,000 |
| <i>Scribner's Magazine</i> | 74,000 |
| <i>American Mercury</i> | 62,000 |
| <i>The Nation</i> | 37,000 |
| <i>New Republic</i> | 25,000 |
| <i>The Survey</i> | 23,000 |

Thus we see that the magazines as well as the newspapers which Americans read tell us much about the culture of our people.

Other interesting facts on the reading habits of Americans are given in the report of a survey of the reading families in 25 cities made a few years ago by the Bureau of Business Research of New York University. From a questionnaire sent to 25,000 telephone subscribers taken at random in nineteen cities in various parts of the United States, it appears that at least one magazine was read by 97 per cent of the families, the number of magazines ranging from one to twenty. A majority of the families read four magazines.

The following five magazines seemed best to satisfy the entire reading public used as a basis for this study: *American Magazine*, *Saturday Evening Post*, *Literary Digest*, *National Geographic Magazine*, *Cosmopolitan*. A considerable number of men also read scientific and technical journals.

The women preferred the *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Good Housekeeping*, *American Magazine*, *Woman's Home Companion*, *Satur-*

day Evening Post. An appreciable number of women also read religious periodicals.

The boys liked best *American Boy*, *American Magazine*, *Saturday Evening Post*, *Boy's Life*, *National Geographic Magazine*, *Youth's Companion*.

Girls liked best *Child Life*, *American Magazine*, *Saturday Evening Post*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Cosmopolitan*, *St. Nicholas*.

Thus it is plain that most Americans prefer the lighter type of magazine to the more serious or intellectual journal.

III. THE READING OF BOOKS

As you saw in Table XXXIV, there were about 212,000,000 books printed in a recent year. Table XL shows you what kinds of books they were.

TABLE XL¹

| BOOKS PUBLISHED IN 1929 | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|
| Kind of Book | Number of Copies |
| Textbooks | 75,125,067 |
| Juvenile | 36,885,167 |
| Fiction | 30,345,662 |
| Religion and philosophy | 15,314,321 |
| Poetry and drama | 4,106,507 |
| History | 3,945,104 |
| Law | 2,931,565 |
| Biography | 2,583,803 |
| Science and technical | 2,572,407 |
| Travel | 1,699,287 |
| Medicine | 1,697,701 |
| Sociological and economic | 963,978 |
| Fine arts | 943,050 |
| Agriculture | 685,960 |
| Miscellaneous | 32,054,094 |
| Total | 211,853,673 |

This seems a large number. But in a population of 123,000,000, it means an average of about two books per person each year.

Several investigations have been made to discover how much the American people read. In one study of 900 *well-educated* adults it was found that more than 90 per cent read newspapers; 75 per cent read magazines; and 50 per cent

read books. But we cannot infer from these figures that half the number of Americans read books, for few Americans are really well educated. Not more than 20 per cent of all Americans graduate from high school, and less than 1 per cent graduate from college.

Lack of education does not fully account, however, for the fact that Americans read so few books.

¹ Adapted from *Publishers' Weekly*, January 24, 1931, p. 409.

Most people are so busy that they do not have time to read books. One young lawyer, for instance, when asked when he got time to read, answered :

"I don't — much. It's next to impossible to get any regular reading done. We know an awful lot of people and at least two or three evenings every week go out with them. Now, Monday evening we went



FIG. 144. The information desk at a public library. Most city libraries are provided with a department of this kind to help their readers

over to a little club we belong to where we play cards every week. Tuesday we went to that lecture for the benefit of the Day Nursery, Wednesday I forget what we did, but we went somewhere or other — and so the week goes.”¹

And so the week apparently “goes,” for a great many Americans.

Of course, much more reading is done by the American people than is indicated by the number of books printed. Unlike newspapers and magazines, most books are preserved, even passed on from person to person. Indeed, in many homes are found books, ten, twenty, fifty, even a hundred or more years old.

¹ Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown*, p. 234. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1929.

Scattered throughout the country are public libraries from which millions of our population borrow books each year. These vary from a large city library like that of New York City with its 3,000,000 volumes and staff of nearly 700 people to tiny libraries containing a few hundred books occupying part of a barber shop or general store.

Wherever the library, the story is about the same. Six or seven books in every ten borrowed are fiction. Like those who *buy* books, those who *borrow* them read largely for entertainment. One city librarian, however, comments on the fact that less serious reading seems to be done by the business and professional classes than by the working people. He believes that the recent increase in adult education is responsible for the increase in serious reading among workers.

Thus we see that although Americans read more books and more good books than they did several years ago, students of the people's reading contend that we are not as yet a book-reading nation. To summarize, one study of the reading of books in the United States gave the following results:

Two books a year bought outright, two books a year borrowed from the library, two books a year rented from rental libraries, one book a year borrowed from a friend — or a possible total of seven books a year read by the *average* American.¹

With this brief introduction to the problem of what the American people read, let us study more carefully the newspapers of today.

NEWSPAPERS AND WHAT THEY PRINT

What is news?

We said in the previous chapter that people want news in their papers. But what *is* news? There are many definitions of the term, but all of them agree on one thing — that news is whatever interests people and causes them to read. It may be an event that happened today or one that occurred two thousand

¹ R. L. Duffus, *Books: their Place in a Democracy*, p. 3. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1930. *Italic ours.*

years ago. It may have happened to one man or to ten thousand. But it is news if it is interesting.

A newspaper man once said: "If a dog should bite a man, that isn't news; but if a man should bite a dog, *that's* news." Thus we see that news is often what is unusual. This is true of such happenings as murders, robberies, sensational accidents, new records in athletics, race riots, strikes, startling inventions and discoveries. Anything that can be printed of kings, princes, presidents, millionaires, and leaders in art, science, or business is also news.

In the long run, newspaper men regard as news anything that will attract readers and sell papers.

What news do people like most to read today?

As we said before, newspapers are written to give people the news they want or what the editors think they want. A large city newspaper, belonging to a national chain, recently sent to all its news-gathering staff a report concerning what its readers are interested in. The report stated:

Newspaper readers are most interested in stories of . . . *Self-preservation* — Under this heading come stories of murder, suicide, rescues, accidents, fights, etc.

Love — This element is contained in stories of marriage, scandal, divorce . . . romances . . . jealousy, etc.

Ambition — "Success" stories and articles tending to stimulate the reader to imitate the character in a story.¹

The report maintained that the average news-reader does not care a hang about tax-rates, budgets, insurance, disarmament, naval appropriations, public utility policies, municipal improvements, or scores of other subjects which may appear to be important.¹

The report described a recent murder case as "a perfect newspaper story." It told the reporters:

Let us write our stories for the composite reader . . . let us disregard or cover perfunctorily subjects which are merely important but not interesting.

¹ Adapted from Peter Odegard's *American Public Mind* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1930), p. 123.

Another authority, Karl A. Bickel, president of the United Press Association, tells us what he believes people like to read :

You like to read, first, about yourself ; second, about the people you know ; and third, about the things you have seen. Years ago when I was city editor of a paper in Davenport, a story went the rounds concerning a new reporter on a German daily. A fire broke out late at night in a German church and he was sent to cover it. After a time he returned, settled himself beside the cast-iron stove in the office, and calmly lighted his pipe.

"Did the church burn up?" asked the city editor.

"Sure it burned up," the reporter replied.

"Well, where is the story?"

"Vat's the use of wriding a story?" the young man responded. "All the good Chermans was there and the bad Chermans don't care."

He showed very bad news sense. The very first thing the good Germans would want to read the next morning would be the paper's account of the fire. It could not possibly be too detailed to suit them. Father, who was there and saw it all, would explain to Mother, who was also there and saw it all, just what occurred, and wherein the printed account erred. And in that respect you and I are just like Father.¹

CHANGES IN THE CONTENT OF THE NEWSPAPER IN 50 YEARS

As you learned in Chapter XIII, newspapers have changed in size, in circulations, and in business value. They have changed in

TABLE XLI²

| PER CENT OF SPACE ALLOWED BY NEWSPAPERS TO DIFFERENT KINDS OF MATTER, 1875 AND 1925 | | |
|--|------|------|
| | 1875 | 1925 |
| News | 55.3 | 26.7 |
| Opinion | 9.6 | 2.2 |
| Features | 6.3 | 10.4 |
| Advertising | 28.9 | 60.5 |

other ways, as Table XLI shows. Study the table carefully. Note how the space devoted to news has declined. Within 50 years it has dropped from about half to about one quarter of the content of the entire newspaper.

In the study from which Table XLI was taken "news" included war news, foreign news, political news, news of crime and

¹ Bruce Barton, "Things that interest you most in your Newspapers," *American Magazine*, July, 1923, p. 178.

² Silas Bent, *Ballyhoo*, p. 208. Horace Liveright, New York, 1927.

vice, business news, sporting news, society news, and miscellaneous kinds of news, such as church meetings, weddings, funerals, and the like.

1. The increasing popularity of sport news

Note also in Table XLII that there has been a radical change in the kinds of news printed between 1875 and 1925.

Within a half-century news of sport and crime has increased and business news has decreased.

In 1875 less than 2 per cent of all the news dealt with sport. In 1925 more than 25 per cent of the news printed dealt with sport. In the same period the proportion of news space devoted to crime more than doubled.

Why do you think there has been such a great increase in material devoted to sport? There are several reasons, of course. An important one is the great growth of interest in competitive

TABLE XLII¹

| CHANGE IN KINDS OF NEWS PRINTED, 1875 AND 1925 | | |
|--|----------|----------|
| | 1875 | 1925 |
| | Per cent | Per cent |
| Sport | 1.7 | 25.4 |
| Business | 26.9 | 20.0 |
| Crime | 4.9 | 10.7 |

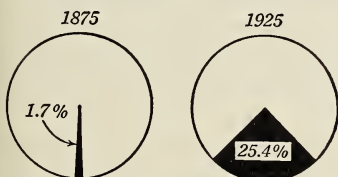


FIG. 145. The percentage of space devoted by the newspapers to sports, 1875 and 1925

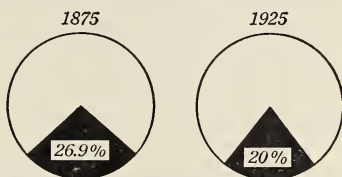


FIG. 146. The percentage of space devoted by the newspapers to business news, 1875 and 1925

games of all kinds—baseball, football, golf, “track,” hockey, tennis, and boxing. We have described this rapid change in *A History of American Government and Culture*.

Probably the most interesting thing about modern sport is the element of competition, of conflict. “Athletics,” says one writer, “is a kind of make-believe war.” Sport writers use a colorful and exciting language. (Someone has called it “Slanguage” because of the frequent use of slang.) The articles abound in

¹ Silas Bent, *Ballyhoo*, p. 211. Horace Liveright, New York, 1927.

such terms as "defense," "knocked out," "opposing camp," "hostilities." These stories arouse intense emotions—loyalty to favorite teams or favorite players, anger at opposing ones, and fear of defeat. Accounts appear daily, reporting the condition of the players, the discovery of new talented players, preparations for oncoming "battles." Business men offer financial rewards to prize fighters who will fight in their cities. Citizens raise funds for the support of baseball, football, basket-ball, and hockey teams. Great civic pride is developed in the success of the team.

Thus we see that the newspapers print what the citizens want, and it is clear that they want news of sport.

2. The increase in "features" in the newspapers

Note the marked increase in the space devoted to "features," as shown in Table XLI. By "features" is meant, for example, regular departments of "Questions and Answers," "Beauty Hints," "Household Helps," daily food news, and other aids for women; discussions of books, music, art, and special stories of various kinds; "columns," cartoons, comic strips, "Bedtime Stories" for children; puzzles, radio programs, and the like.

The kinds of features in our newspapers have changed also within the past 50 years. Mr. Silas Bent, quoting an investigation by Mr. Armstrong, a careful critic of the content of newspapers, says:

Feature matter of 1875 . . . would rarely be recognized as such today. It dealt for the most part with "curious events," as the accounts were sometimes labeled; the weird, the fantastic, and sometimes the horrific; the "almanac" type of the unusual.

Feature matter today bears a closer relation to timely news; in fact, much feature matter is as timely as news. . . . Little progress toward the modern type of feature matter was made until about 1890. Between that year and 1900 feature writing, with pen-and-ink drawings and photo-illustrations, took rapid strides forward.¹

3. Cartoons and comic strips

Two kinds of features hold an important place in our newspapers today. They are both picture features. One, the cartoon,

¹ Silas Bent, *Ballyhoo*, pp. 210-211. Horace Liveright, New York, 1927.

is intended to affect public opinion on economic, political, or cultural problems. You have already seen many cartoons in your study of this and other books. The other, the comic strip, is intended for amusement.

In the late 1880's and 1890's the cartoon and the comic strip became popular. Cartoons had been used from time to time after Franklin had printed the famous "Join or Die" cartoon in the eighteenth century. They were not printed with regularity in the newspapers, however, until the *New York World* began to use them extensively 100 years later. In 1884 a published cartoon entitled "The Difference between Two Knights," contrasting Blaine and Cleveland, caught the public fancy. From that time on, *The World*, alive to the possibilities of boosting circulation, made the cartoon a regular feature. Other papers soon followed *The World's* lead. Today almost every daily newspaper makes the cartoon a part of the features of its pages.

Somewhat later in the 1890's the comic strip also became popular. Mark Sullivan says that in the late nineties

the egg of the comic supplement and the comic strip was hatching in New York in the shape of Richard Outcault's "Yellow Kid," chiefly under the auspices of Mr. Hearst's racy newspapers. . . . It is probably not seriously distant from historical accuracy to say it was the popularity of the Yellow Kid that led later to the creation of "Happy Hooligan," the "Katzenjammer Kids," "Foxy Grandpa," "Mutt and Jeff" . . . and still later "Barney Google" and the "Honorable Andy Gump."¹

How many of these and other comic characters do you know? Do you realize that the comic strips you read every Sunday were unknown in 1880?

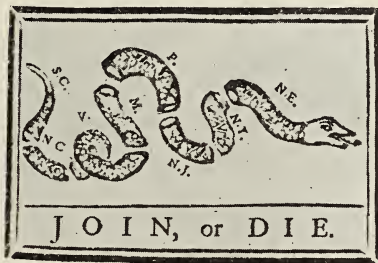


FIG. 147. The first American cartoon (from the *New York Gazette*, May 13, 1754)

¹ Mark Sullivan, *Our Times*, Vol. I, pp. 277-278. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1926.

4. The dominating place of advertising

By far the most important change that has taken place in the content of newspapers is the astonishing increase in the proportion of the space devoted to advertising. In figures 149 and 150 note that about 50 years ago, more than half the paper was given to

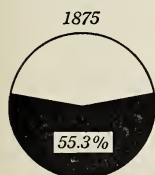


FIG. 149. The percentage of space devoted by the newspapers to all kinds of news, 1875 and 1925

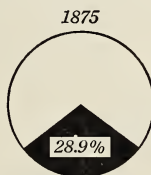
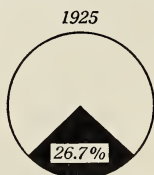
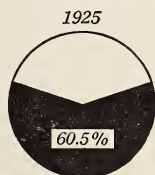


FIG. 150. The percentage of space devoted by the newspapers to advertising, 1875 and 1925



news and but one fourth to advertising. Today the amount of space given to news and to advertising has been almost exactly reversed. One investigation of 63 city newspapers showed that 60 per cent of the space was devoted to advertising. The same thing is true of the papers in the smaller cities. In one typical Middle Western community a tabulation of the contents of the three daily newspapers showed that 63 per cent of the space in the morning papers and 47 per cent of the space in the afternoon papers were devoted to advertising.

TABLE XLIII

| HOW THE MATERIAL OF ONE NATIONAL WEEKLY WAS DIVIDED IN A RECENT AVERAGE ISSUE | |
|--|-------|
| | Pages |
| Advertising | 75 |
| Reading matter | 53 |
| Illustrations | 14 |
| Total | 142 |

It must not be concluded that newspapers only have been affected by advertising. Table XLIII shows the amount of space devoted in one issue of a weekly magazine to advertising and reading matter (such as articles and stories) and their accompanying illustrations.

However, the newspapers play such an important part in American culture that we should study their content particularly. We should know more about the character of the news that is printed and see more clearly the part played by advertising.

5. The "front page" of the newspaper

The character of the news we read today can perhaps be seen best on the "front page." There we find the most sensational headlines and the human-interest stories. There is the news that appeals to our emotions. In Table XLIV we see the large part played by three kinds of news on the front page. By "disaster" is meant floods, fires, earthquakes, accidents, suicides, murders, and



FIG. 151. The lady looks at the headlines of the newspaper and says, "I think I'll take the murder." (Art Young in *The New Yorker*)

the like. "Conflict" means any kind of competition — fights, games, struggles between individuals and between economic and political groups, and war between nations. "Personalities" means stories in which important persons are featured. These three — stories of disaster, of conflict, and of personalities — are the matters of human interest that find their way to the front page. And of the three, conflict gets most of the headlines. In one in-

vestigation of labor papers, it was found that every inch of the front page was devoted to conflict.

Our study shows that most American newspapers today are not primarily journals of opinion; rather they are organs of entertainment. In order to attract readers they play upon emotions. They present the latest gossip and scandal. They do this because they know that such stories will interest their readers. People thrill over such stories of adventure as Lindbergh's crossing the Atlantic or Byrd's flying over the south pole. They shudder at stories of suicide. Stories of modern Cinderellas bring pleasure and satisfaction to them as they read.

The headlines of the front page have changed along with everything else in the modern newspapers. Fifty years ago there were few large headlines. Today anything, from a world disaster to

TABLE XLIV¹

| COLUMN INCHES IN THREE CLASSES OF NEWS ON THE FRONT PAGE | | | |
|--|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Newspaper | Disaster | Conflict | Personalities |
| In a Wisconsin paper | — | 96 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 52 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| In a Chicago daily paper | 28 | 30 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 56 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| In a Chicago commercial daily paper | 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 48 $\frac{1}{4}$ | 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| In a New York daily paper | 50 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 60 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 45 $\frac{1}{2}$ |

the winning of a championship prize fight, will get headlines covering the entire width of the front page of a metropolitan newspaper.

We see that the newspaper is doing everything it can to attract attention and thereby to increase sales. In order to do this, it uses conspicuous bold-faced letters, one or two inches in height, exclamation marks, and sensational words. How often we see such words in our headlines as the following: "Disaster" . . . "Catastrophe" . . . "Suicide" . . . "Wreckage" . . . "Ruins" . . . "Wins Fight" . . . "Defends Self" . . . "Attacks Man" . . . "Deadly Poison" . . . "Crashes to Earth" . . . "Horrificed Audience" . . . "Defies the Courts" . . .

Not only in the headlines, but in the newspaper stories themselves, the vocabulary abounds in words and phrases which aim to arouse the emotions. Note, for example, the following dramatic phrases, inclosed in quotation marks:

The events were "new and mysterious."

The witness was given a "severe grilling."

A "crooked deal" was uncovered.

The plan was a "wild scheme."

"Shouts and groans" were heard.

"The gambling spirit" of the stock exchange.

In these ways the headlines and stories appeal to the desire for the unusual, to curiosity, to the hates and fears of human beings.

In many instances the newspapers give false impressions in their efforts to be sensational. The following examples of divided

¹ Adapted from a tabulation of the content of the front page of four daily papers, reported by Professor Kimball Young, in *Social Psychology* (F. S. Crofts & Co., New York, 1930), p. 605.

headlines illustrate this practice. First, read only the words printed in large letters. What meaning did you get from them? Now, read the full headlines. Do you notice how the meanings have changed?

MRS. MAHONEY ALIVE

When Put in Trunk

VALENTINO DEAD

Is Report

In 1898, at the time of the destruction of the United States warship *Maine*, a huge headline across the front page of one newspaper read :

MINES IN HARBOR!

Agents in U. S. Have Been Unable to Find the
Slightest Trace of their Existence

Turn back to page 4. All the headlines shown are taken from different newspaper accounts of the same event. Notice that one newspaper claims that 27 survivors were rescued from the ice floe, while another gives the number as 10.

Reporters also differ in their ability to see and report accurately a situation which they have observed. This point has already been well illustrated on page 5. Turn back to this page and notice how the various newspaper accounts of the assault upon Kerensky differed in *one* detail alone — namely, what Kerensky did when he was struck.

The news is misreported not only through the inaccuracy of reporters but also through the political or economic prejudice of the owners of the papers. One student of the problem gives us an example :

In the fall of 1924 Senator Burton K. Wheeler, speaking on behalf of La Follette, roundly denounced both the Democratic party and the Republican. The Associated Press reported the entire speech. The writer happened to be in an Oregon city at the time, where both papers had Associated Press service. The Republican paper published all of Wheeler's denunciations of the Democrats but scarcely a word of criticism of the G. O. P. [Republicans]. The Democratic daily contained all the accusations against the Republicans but only a few of the milder criticisms of the Democrats.¹

It is true, of course, that some inaccuracies are unavoidable. Reporters have little time in which to verify details and write their stories. *Accurate or inaccurate, the newspaper must be published on time!* One newspaper man said: "Newspapers are written in a hurry, printed in a hurry, and meant to be read in a hurry."

ADVERTISING AND THE CONTENT OF NEWSPAPERS

An interesting contrast

A tabulation was made recently of the space devoted by newspapers to two events — a championship prize fight and the joint sessions of the National Education Association and the World Conference on Education. At the meetings of the two associations were gathered the leading educators of the United States and many of those from other countries. Many of the important problems of education were discussed. To which event do you think the newspapers devoted the larger amount of space? Let us consider the facts:

Eight New York newspapers devoted fourteen times as much space to the prize fight as to the educational meeting.

In Chicago newspapers the prize fight received 1353 column inches; the educational meetings, two inches.

In Philadelphia newspapers the prize fight filled several whole pages; not a single mention was made of the meetings.

Of those investigated one newspaper with a national circulation ignored the prize fight; it devoted 267 column inches to the educational meetings.

¹ Adapted from Peter Odegard's *American Public Mind* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1930), p. 134.

Why did these two events receive such different amounts of space? The editors of the papers would say that they must give their readers what they want and that their readers want sensational news like that of a prize fight. But there is another reason, which is far more important. Two words will state it — Circulation! Advertising!

Newspaper-owners make their money primarily from advertising. As you know, more than half of the entire content of metropolitan newspapers is devoted to advertising. So also more than half of the income of newspapers comes from that source. *The New York Times*, which is one of the world's most famous newspapers, receives "more than 87 per cent of its income from advertising." In a recent year when the daily circulation of this newspaper was about 400,000, the revenue was as follows:

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------|
| From the sale of the paper | \$3,250,000 |
| From advertising | 22,500,000 |

In the year that the *New York Journal* had a circulation of about 640,000, it received during ten months of that year —

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|
| From the sale of the paper | about \$4,000,000 |
| From advertising | about 7,000,000 |

Thus advertising made up about 64 per cent of the income of that paper. Indeed, the sales of some newspapers scarcely pay for the paper on which they are printed; the sales of others pay only half that cost.

Who then pays the salaries of reporters scattered all over the world, gathering news and sending it to the newspapers by telegraph, telephone, cable, and radio? Who pays the editors' salaries? Who pays for the costly printing presses, for the employees to run them, for the cost of distributing the newspapers? The answer is — the advertisers and the public which buys their goods.

Now, the advertiser will take space in the newspapers which reach the largest number of people. He knows that the announcement of his wares will be seen by hundreds of thousands of readers — if he advertises in a newspaper which has a large circulation. And so rapidly have circulations increased that manufacturers of food, clothing, automobiles, goods of all kinds, are willing to pay huge prices for advertising space. In 1929 the *American*

Weekly, which is the Sunday magazine supplement of the Hearst newspapers, charged \$16,000 for a single-page advertisement in a single issue. In 1929 a single line of advertising in American newspapers averaged about \$3.50 for each million of circulation of the evening papers. In the morning papers a single line averaged \$2.50. And this advertising revenue is paid largely to the newspapers of wide circulation.

To what extent do advertisers control the policy of the newspapers?

In recent years, as advertising mounted hand in hand with circulation, many people have often criticized the newspapers, complaining that they permit advertisers to determine the policy of the papers. On this question evidence can be obtained on both sides. Some investigations have shown that news-

papers have either withheld or distorted news which would otherwise be unfavorable to their advertisers. It is the judgment of reputable newspaper men and students of the profession, however, that this seldom happens. One authority on the newspaper says: "I think such instances are rare. . . . In a long experience . . . I have known but two stories to be suppressed."¹

He points out that newspapers can more easily risk offending one advertiser than they can risk losing circulation, because loss of circulation means loss of many advertisers.

The American Weekly concentrates and dominates in 536 of America's 812 towns and cities of 10,000 population and over.

In each of 185 cities, it reaches one out of every two families

In 132 more cities, it reaches 40 to 50%

In an additional 102 cities, it reaches 30 to 40%

In another 117 cities, it reaches 20 to 30%

—and, in addition, nearly 2,000,000 families in thousands of other communities, large and small, regularly buy *The American Weekly*.

*What \$16,000 buys
in The American Weekly*

A full page in color nearly three times as big as any other magazine page in the world . . . 5,500,000 families at a cost of less than $\frac{1}{4}$ cent per family . . . The attention of the entire family instead of a single buying factor.

FIG. 152. This advertisement was intended to reach those who wish to advertise their products. What does it tell you?

¹ Silas Bent, *Ballyhoo*, p. 22. Horace Liveright, New York, 1927.

In this connection we must remember one fact — that the large incomes of newspapers are obtained from advertising and sales. It is clear that newspaper-owners would naturally be in sympathy with their large advertisers because they depend upon them for their income. Furthermore, owners of newspapers are also investors in other business enterprises. They own stock and even hold positions as directors in telegraph and telephone companies, iron and steel corporations, power corporations, food, clothing, and other manufacturing concerns. There is a well-known story of a newspaper-owner who informed his editors and their associates of the corporations in which he was personally interested, naturally with the idea that his newspaper should uphold those corporations if unfavorable news appeared concerning them.

An interesting example of the effect of advertising is contained in the following description of three newspapers in a typical small Middle Western city :

The leading paper [which carries most advertising] rarely says anything editorially calculated to offend local business men ; the weaker paper [which carries less advertising] "takes a stand" editorially from time to time on such matters as opposition to child labor ; while the third paper, the four-page weekly Democratic sheet, carries no advertising except such political advertising as must legally be given to a rival paper, and habitually comments freely and vigorously on local affairs.¹

Thus we see that differing opinions are held about the effect of advertising upon news. There is reason for believing that advertisers play an important part in determining what goes into our newspapers.

THE PICTURE-TABLOID NEWSPAPERS

As our cities grew larger and larger and life in them became more hurried and more complex, a new type of newspaper appeared. Here was the news in headlines and pictures, large type and short articles — all in a few sentences. The latest scandal

¹ Adapted from Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd's *Middletown* (Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1929), p. 475.

and gossip, what the President said to the Bankers' Association, or the latest international event were given in a few lines, so that the working people as they shuttled back and forth morning and evening in subways, suburban trains, and street cars could take in the day's news at a single gulp.

We can understand that simple, easily read, quickly understood newspapers abounding in illustrations would be in great demand. Here you have the explanation of the picture tabloids, which are sold by the millions today in our larger cities and towns. There is a current saying that yellow journals are printed for people who cannot think, and picture tabloids are printed for those who cannot read. This, of course, is not wholly true, but it is true that, although the whole nation has become literate, the rank and file have little real reading ability.

Why are these newspapers called tabloids? As the name implies, they are "compressed, or condensed." They are smaller than the standard-size newspapers, carrying five columns in place of eight. Their news is condensed, too.

So far as we can find, the first illustrated daily newspaper in the world was the *Daily Graphic* of New York, established in 1872 and issued continuously until 1889. It was five columns wide, and the first page was entirely devoted to illustrations. Thus we see that the tabloids of our day were not the first newspapers to give a great deal of space to illustrations. The idea of the tabloids was revived when the New York *Daily News* was established by the owners of the *Chicago Tribune* in 1919. In 1924 a second New York tabloid, *The Mirror*, was founded by William Randolph Hearst. In 1925 Bernarr MacFadden founded a third, known as the *New York Evening Graphic*. Tabloid newspapers likewise began to appear in other large cities of the country.

Did the public like condensed news voluminously illustrated? It did, indeed. Within eight years from the time that the *Daily News* was established its daily circulation had passed the million mark. Within a short time these three New York newspapers, *The News*, *The Mirror*, and *The Graphic*, claimed that they were read by 40 per cent of all the readers in New York City.

Circulations were increased by conducting contests and giving money prizes. A large proportion of space was devoted to pictures

and news of the most sensational kind. For example, one of the pictures showed an artist's conception of Enrico Caruso, the opera singer, and Rudolph Valentino, the "movie" star, meeting in heaven. Both were Italian, and both had recently died.

The columns of these tabloids abound in gossip and scandal. The private life of no prominent person is safe from the reporters of these papers. Marriage ceremonies and funerals, divorces, even announcements of engagements between prominent young people, are occasions for the most ruthless invasion of homes and personal rights. Headlines like the following appear :

GROCER BOY WEDS FIFI TOMORROW

PROVING DREAMS COME TRUE

Sometimes murderers are even portrayed as heroes, as "super-criminals," and innocent relatives of the criminals are hounded by reporters and given undesirable newspaper publicity.

Under their influence many standard-size newspapers have become more sensational. Headlines have been enlarged, and less regard for accuracy in reporting has developed. As an example note what Silas Bent says of a large metropolitan daily, which

on August 2, 1921, published what it said was a photograph of Soviet soldiers turning a machine gun on a crowd of men, women, and children. This picture had been printed in the same paper four years earlier, and actually represented a World War scene, as the paper acknowledged.¹

Are the tabloids more sensational than their eight-column standard-size competitors? In some cases it is difficult to draw a conclusion. Some of the standard-size newspapers are as sensational as the tabloids. They imitate the tabloids in presenting at great length murder trials, scandal, conflict of all kinds. They may not use as many pictures but they often use more words. For example, a recent tabulation was made of the number of words

¹ Adapted from Silas Bent's *Ballyhoo* (Horace Liveright, New York, 1927), pp. 188-189.

used in reporting a murder trial in a so-called conservative metropolitan daily and in a tabloid (Table XLV).

Does one have to read tabloids and other sensational newspapers? By no means. Most of the newspapers in small towns are free from sensationalism. Moreover, practically each large city in the country has at least one newspaper which stands for accuracy, reliability of press service, and "clean news."

The editors of such newspapers stand for law enforcement, for political fairness, and for international justice. Scores of newspapers of this sort might be mentioned. A few which are typical are the *New York Times*, the *New York Herald-Tribune*, the *Chicago Daily News*, the *Philadelphia Bulletin*, the *Boston Evening Transcript*, the *Baltimore Sun*, the *New York World-Telegram*, the *Kansas City Star*, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and the *Detroit News*.

TABLE XLV¹

| NUMBER OF WORDS DEVOTED TO REPORTS OF A RECENT MURDER TRIAL | |
|---|-----------------|
| Paper | Number of Words |
| Conservative daily | 528,300 |
| Tabloid | 223,400 |

"THE CANONS OF JOURNALISM"

Recognizing the increasing difficulty of reporting the news accurately and the growing pressure upon reporters to exaggerate and sensationalize, the American Society of Newspaper Editors adopted in 1923 a list of ethical rules called "The Canons of Journalism." The introduction to these rules indicates the sense of responsibility which editors have for accurate reporting and interpretation of the news:

The primary function of newspapers is to communicate to the human race what its members do, feel, and think. Journalism, therefore, demands of its practitioners the widest range of intelligence, of knowledge, and of experience, as well as natural and trained powers of observation and reasoning. To its opportunities as a chronicle are indissolubly linked its obligations as teacher and interpreter.²

¹ Silas Bent, *Ballyhoo*, p. 192. Horace Liveright, New York, 1927.

² From *Editor and Publisher*, through the courtesy of the editor, Mr. Marlen Pew.

The editors then stated seven canons, or rules, which could be used as guides for the sound practice of American journalism :

1. Responsibility. Emphasizing devotion to public welfare, the editors declare : "A journalist who uses his power for any selfish or otherwise unworthy purpose is faithless to a high trust."

2. Freedom of the press. "Freedom of the press is to be guarded as a vital right of mankind."

3. Independence. "Freedom from all obligations except that of fidelity to the public interest is vital. . . . So-called news communications from private sources should not be published without public notice of their source or else substantiation of their claims to value as news." Dishonest partisanship is denounced.

4. Sincerity, Truthfulness, Accuracy. "Good faith with the reader is the foundation of all journalism worthy of the name . . . a newspaper is constrained to be truthful. It is not to be excused for lack of thoroughness or accuracy within its control. . . . Headlines should be fully warranted by the contents of the articles which they surmount."

5. Impartiality. "News reports should be free from opinion or bias of any kind." The editors demand that news reports be distinguished from all expressions of opinion.

6. Fair play. "A newspaper should not publish unofficial charges affecting reputation or moral character, without opportunity given to the accused to be heard. . . . A newspaper should not invade rights of private feelings without sure warrant of public right as distinguished from public curiosity. . . . It is the privilege, as it is the duty, of a newspaper to make prompt and complete correction of its own serious mistakes of fact or opinion, whatever their origin."

7. Decency. The editors go on record, at least indirectly, as opposing publication or printing of "details of crime and vice, publication of which is not demonstrably for the general good."¹

Are not these canons of journalism of the newspaper editors directly opposed to the practices of our more sensational and yellow newspapers? Careful consideration of facts as summarized in this chapter leads to that conclusion. It is a most encouraging sign, however, that a national organization of reputable newspaper leaders recognizes the dangers in the present trends in metropolitan-newspaper publication and takes a definite stand against them.

¹ Adapted from *Editor and Publisher*, through the courtesy of the editor, Mr. Marlen Pew.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

- ABBOTT, CHARLES GREELEY. *Everyday Mysteries*. The Macmillan Company, New York. See "The Two-Cent Investment," pp. 185-198.
- BACHMAN, F. P. *Great Inventors and their Inventions*. American Book Company, New York. Read about John Gutenberg and the invention of printing, pp. 187-207.
- BENT, SILAS. *Ballyhoo*. Horace Liveright, New York. Journalism of today, with interesting historical material on the press.
- BENT, SILAS. *Strange Bedfellows*. Horace Liveright, New York. The press of today.
- CHASE, A., and CLOW, E. *Stories of Industry*. Educational Publishing Company. See pages 173-206.
- CLAUDY, CARL. *The Girl Reporter*. Little, Brown and Company, Boston. An interesting story which gives the atmosphere and the spirit of a newspaper.
- DAVIS, RICHARD HARDING. *Gallegher and Other Stories*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. "Gallegher" is a newspaper story.
- GIVEN, JOHN L. *Making a Newspaper*. Henry Holt and Company, New York.
- GRAVES, W. BROOKE. *Readings in Public Opinion*. D. Appleton and Company, New York. See Chapter IX, "The Press and Public Opinion"; Chapter XI, "Literature and Public Opinion."
- JENISON, MADGE. *Sunwise Turn*. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. The story of a bookshop, delightfully told.
- KAEMPFERT, WALDEMAR (Editor). *A Popular History of American Invention*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. See Volume I, pp. 221-261, "The Story of the Printed Word."
- LEE, JAMES MELVIN. *History of American Journalism*. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. Valuable material.
- LYND, ROBERT S. and HELEN. *Middletown*. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York. See pages 229-242 and Chapter XXVII.
- MARSHALL, LEON C. *Readings in the Story of Human Progress*. The Macmillan Company, New York. See Chapter X, section 2, "Books and how they are Made," and section 3, "The Newspaper."
- MORLEY, CHRISTOPHER. *The Haunted Bookshop*. Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York.
- MORLEY, CHRISTOPHER. *Parnassus on Wheels*. Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York. Story of a traveling library.
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UNIT VI

PUBLIC OPINION AND AMERICAN LIFE

PUBLIC OPINION AND AMERICAN LIFE

We are prepared now to study directly the topic of public opinion. We have seen the influence of the changing family, neighborhood, and community life upon the minds of the American people. We have noted the important rôle of the job in determining "what's on the worker's mind." We have studied the rôles of government and the press in our culture. Now, therefore, we must bring together our knowledge of how these things influence public opinion.

The study is introduced in Chapter XVI with a detailed example of the difference between unreasoned opinions and reasoned conclusions. It will be necessary for us to make careful studies of this problem of the formation of opinion in order to see the importance of meeting American social problems in a reasoned manner.

In Chapter XVII we shall study many examples of how opinions and beliefs are formed. We shall consider the influence of the family, the neighborhood, social organizations, the church and the school, the newspaper, the "movies," the radio, and advertising. From these many examples of the ways of forming opinions we shall obtain a glimpse of how the grand total of these makes up what is called public opinion.

Finally, in Chapter XVIII, we shall apply our knowledge of these matters to a question which is vital to the American people, namely, How can liberty be guaranteed in the American democracy?

CHAPTER XVI

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF PUBLIC OPINION

PEOPLE ARE CONSTANTLY FORMING OPINIONS AND BELIEFS

"It's my opinion that Johnson would make a better governor than Allen."

"I am convinced that the Germans caused the World War."

"I believe that Mary Pickford is the prettiest actress in the 'movies.'"

"I think women are smarter than men."

Every day, everywhere in the world, statements of opinion and belief like these can be heard. In neighborhood conversations, on trains, in offices, stores, and factories, on farms — everywhere people are expressing their opinions and beliefs. Each of us is constantly "making up his mind" about a variety of matters. Some of the opinions we form deal with our work, some with the government, others with business or social matters, still others with the problems that arise with our family and friends. In short, we form opinions and beliefs about almost everything which comes to our attention.

TWO WAYS OF REGARDING THE AMERICAN

In preceding chapters we have illustrated one way of describing the American, that is, by describing the external man. We can tell much about the external American by studying his house and his family, his community and his neighborhood, his occupation and his income, his clothes, his political party, his church, and his business, social, or patriotic organizations.

All these descriptions show how the American *lives*. They describe the man as the world knows him. So we say, "Smith is a plumber," "Jones has a fine house," "Johnson has three children," "Thompson lives in a poor neighborhood," "Ellis is well dressed," "Marsh is an Elk," "Brown is a millionaire."

But these ways of describing the American only tell some things about him. There is another way of describing him. That is by showing *what he thinks and feels* — how he looks at life. Underneath the external American is the internal man. What is this *internal* American like? To answer this question we must consider again the groups in which he lives.

Thus far we have studied how these groups affect the way in which he lives, works, and plays. But have we considered how these groups affect his opinions and beliefs, how they determine the kind of man he becomes? Have we studied how his family, his neighborhood, his job, and his organizations help to make him what he is? Have we considered what it means to say that Smith is a Republican, Jones a Democrat, Brown a Presbyterian, and Black a Methodist, a Unitarian, or a Catholic?

Let us ask first how one can tell what a person really is. Is it by the clothes he wears, by his automobile, his house, his job, by the clubs to which he belongs? Yes, we can tell partly by these things. These external things reveal how much money a person probably has; to what economic group he belongs; in what social group he is received.

But they tell very little about what the man really is. For example, a rich and murderous gangster may be well dressed, may ride in an expensive automobile, live in a palatial residence, spend a fortune on jewelry and on travel, banquets, theaters, and other recreations. Indeed, he may look not unlike one of our fine, cultured people. The external men may resemble one another closely. But are they really like one another?

As another example, consider twins. Perhaps you number some among your friends. Perhaps they are of about the same height and weight, and have the same color of hair and eyes, the same general characteristics of face, hands, and figure. They live in the same family in the same neighborhood; they even dress alike; they go to the same school and perhaps belong to the same clubs. In every respect *outwardly*, or externally, they are alike. *Yet inwardly they are very different.* Each is a separate and unique person. Even though the eyes through which they look out upon the world are the same blue or brown, yet what each sees is unlike that which the other sees. Each feels differently about

people, about matters that occur in the home, the neighborhood, and the school. Each learns to hold opinions different from those of the other.

Furthermore, each has his own separate interests. One perhaps may like athletics and excel in sports; the other may be called by his friends a bookworm. One may play the piano beautifully, while the other is an excellent mechanic. One becomes a skilled workman in a factory; the other, interested in books and ideas, becomes a teacher. One becomes a Socialist; the other a Democrat or Republican. They may even adopt different religious views, one joining one church, the other joining another.

Thus by the time our twins have grown up they have become very different, indeed. We say that their attitudes, their opinions, their outlooks on life are different. They hold different opinions about various matters; although they agree in some things, they differ widely in others. They are different *personalities*.

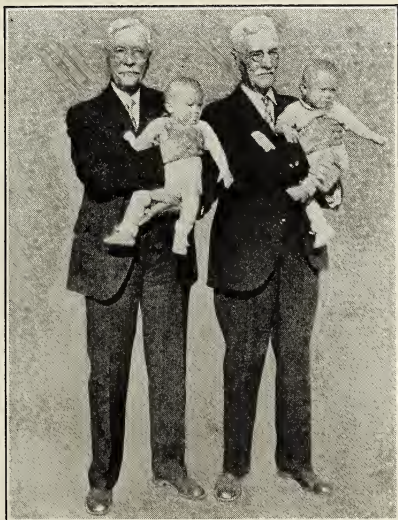


FIG. 153. Two pairs of twins. The men are eighty years old; the children eight months. Although twins resemble each other outwardly, they are really very different personalities

TO UNDERSTAND THE AMERICAN WE MUST STUDY HIS PERSONALITY — THE INNER MAN

Thus we find that another way to describe the American is to describe what he is inside, what his mind and spirit are like. What does he think about most of the time? What kinds of things does he desire? What does he fear? What opinions does he hold with respect to politics, religion, or problems of com-

munity life? Is he a tolerant man and does he respect others? Does he coöperate with others to make things go better in the family, in the neighborhood, in the community? These are typical questions which one tries to answer in describing the personality of a man.

EACH PERSONALITY IS UNIQUE

One important fact we should bear in mind is that every human being is a unique individual. In the United States there



FIG. 154. In all this vast crowd of people there are no two who are exactly alike in personality

are more than 120,000,000 people — men, women, and children. That means that there are more than 120,000,000 individual personalities, since everyone is unique, different from everyone else. In the entire world, there are now approximately 1,900,000,000 human beings. Yet so great is the variety in human nature that no two are alike!

In this and in other chapters of this book, we shall study some of the ways in which the personalities of American citizens are formed. We shall try to discover what it is that makes each one

of us the person that he is. In the next chapter we shall ask how opinions are formed — for example, why one person believes in a protective tariff and another in free trade. Why does one believe in a certain religious creed and another adopt quite a different one? Why does one like new things and another think that "what was good enough for father is good enough for me"? Why does one enjoy being with persons of other races and nationalities and another dislike them, "cannot stand them"? Why does one person accept everything that the Congress, legislatures, mayors, and aldermen do, while another is constantly questioning their actions? These are all matters of personality.

Before we discuss how opinions are formed, however, let us consider what is meant by "opinion." This can be most easily understood by a contrast between forming a conclusion from measured facts and forming an opinion without facts.

REASONED CONCLUSIONS VERSUS UNREASONED OPINIONS

1. A simple case of measurement

Let us take a very simple example. Look about the room and select a convenient object, say, the teacher's desk or a table top. Look at it carefully. What is your opinion as to its length? Perhaps you will say "about three and a half feet." One classmate observing the same length, however, may say "about four feet"; another classmate may estimate "about three feet and a quarter." If all the members of the class estimate the length, you obtain a great many different estimates, ranging perhaps from two feet to four feet. One class which did this arranged their answers as in Table XLVI (page 384).

Which is the correct length? Which opinion of the length is correct? How can we tell?

Would it help to have an expert give his opinion? In this class two experts were called in to give their opinions. The first, a carpenter, estimated that the length was three feet three inches. However, the second, a teacher of physics who was also an engineer, estimated the length to be three feet. Thus the opinions of two experts differed by three inches. Still the class did not know the truth.

Finally one pupil suggested measuring the desk with a foot rule. He said that instead of forming an opinion about the length,

TABLE XLVI

| HOW PUPILS' OPINIONS OF THE LENGTH OF A TABLE VARIED | |
|---|------------------|
| Opinions as to Length | Number of Pupils |
| 2 feet | 1 |
| 2 feet 3 inches | 1 |
| 2 feet 6 inches | 1 |
| 2 feet 8 inches | 2 |
| 2 feet 9 inches | 3 |
| 2 feet 11 inches | 5 |
| 3 feet | 9 |
| 3 feet 1 inch | 5 |
| 3 feet 2 inches | 4 |
| 3 feet 3 inches | 3 |
| 3 feet 4 inches | 2 |
| 3 feet 6 inches | 2 |
| 3 feet 9 inches | 1 |
| 3 feet 10 inches | 1 |
| 4 feet | 1 |
| 4 feet 6 inches | 1 |

the class ought to obtain the facts of length by measuring. Each member of the class measured the desk, using a foot rule on which were stamped the inches, half-inches, quarter-inches, eighth-inches, and sixteenth-inches. The results are shown in Table XLVII. Note that the results obtained by actually measuring still varied, *but they varied much less than when opinions were given.* At first the smallest and largest *estimates* differed

by two feet six inches. The *measurements*, however, differed only by two and five-eighths inches, approximately only one twelfth as much! Furthermore, when the carpenter and the engineer measured the desk with the foot rule, the carpenter obtained three feet and three-quarters inches as the length while the engineer obtained three feet and seven-eighths inches. With the foot rule the measurements by the men were much more

TABLE XLVII

| HOW PUPILS' MEASUREMENTS OF THE LENGTH OF A TABLE VARIED | |
|---|------------------|
| Measurements | Number of Pupils |
| 2 feet 11 inches | 1 |
| 2 feet 11½ inches | 1 |
| 2 feet 11¾ inches | 2 |
| 3 feet | 3 |
| 3 feet ½ inch | 7 |
| 3 feet ¾ inch | 15 |
| 3 feet 1 inch | 8 |
| 3 feet 1¼ inches | 3 |
| 3 feet 1½ inches | 1 |
| 3 feet 1⅝ inches | 1 |

nearly the same than when they were merely forming an opinion.

The figures given in Table XLVI were merely the result of unmeasured opinions. The figures given in Table XLVII were measured facts. From opinions it would be exceedingly difficult, if not

impossible, to arrive at a close approximation to the truth. It would be largely a matter of guessing. From the measured facts, however, one can come closer to the truth. In the case studied one can be reasonably sure that the *true length* of the desk lies between two feet eleven inches and three feet one and five-eighths inches. Indeed, since the results of measurement by more than half of the pupils and grown-ups showed it to be between three feet one-half inch and three feet one inch, we can *conclude* that the *true* measurement is *approximately* three feet three-quarters inch. So by obtaining measured facts we approximate the truth more closely than by forming opinions without measured facts.

But even foot rules and yardsticks do not give us the exact truth. They vary, even if only a little — say, one sixteenth of an inch in three feet. In machine industries and in laboratories like the United States Bureau of Standards, instruments are used which measure distances within an error of, say, one millionth of an inch. In measuring the diameter of cylinders of an automobile engine it is necessary to be as accurate as that.

In this very simple case of measuring a length, therefore, we see the important difference between forming an opinion without measured facts and forming conclusions from measured facts. In the former case we have only our skill in estimating to help us. In the latter case we use standardized units of measurement to help us. Of course, if we had had much experience in estimating distances and in comparing our estimates with measurements by foot rules and other measuring scales, even our opinion of distance would be, perhaps, fairly close to the truth. But we can also see clearly the need for forming our opinions even of length, so far as possible, from the facts.

2. A more difficult case, from the political life of a community

Our first example was a simple one. The facts could be secured without much difficulty. No one *wanted* the length to be a particular amount. There was only one desire in the mind of each person; namely, that of finding out as accurately as he could what the true length was.

Now take an example from political life — say, the election of a mayor. Suppose that Smith, Morgan, and Allen are running for mayor of our community. For whom will the community vote?

We must ask three questions. First, what are the facts concerning the merits of the candidates for the position? Second, can the voters of the community secure the facts about the candidates? Third, will they use facts to form reasoned conclusions?

To answer the first question one would have to obtain a great many facts — facts about the experience, honesty, and intelligence of the candidates.

Let us suppose that none of the candidates has ever been a mayor. All are of middle age and all have been active in the life of the community, having served in the common council and on committees. Hence they have had years of experience to fit them for the position. Smith is a lawyer, Allen is the owner of a successful business, and Morgan is the secretary of a labor union. Smith is a college and law-school graduate, Allen is a high-school graduate, Morgan attended high school one year and then with hard work advanced himself to a position of responsibility in his trade union. Does it not seem that they are all capable and intelligent? With these facts it would be exceedingly difficult for a voter to decide which of the three is the best man for the position.

Other facts — some of them trivial — may complicate the problem. Smith is a Republican, Allen a Socialist, Morgan a Democrat. Some of the voters of the community also are Republicans, some are Socialists, some are Democrats. Smith belongs to the Presbyterian Church, Allen to the Methodist Church, Morgan to the Catholic Church. Correspondingly some of the voters of the community are Presbyterians, others are Methodists, others are Catholics. Still others belong to other churches.

Smith is the son of the leading banker in town and belongs to the Masons and the Country Club. Allen is a son of a small grocery-store owner and has joined the Odd Fellows and the Elks. Morgan is the son of a carpenter and is not a member of any club. On the other hand, the voters of the community are engaged in all kinds of occupations. Moreover, some of them belong to the Masons, some to the Odd Fellows, some to the Elks or the Country Club, while others have no club membership.

There are a great many other facts concerning the candidates and the voters which complicate the impartial choice of a mayor, only a few of which we have space to mention. Some voters like what Smith has said in his campaign speeches and radio talks; others prefer Allen's; still others like Morgan's. Furthermore, many voters have deep personal likings for or prejudices against one or the other of the candidates. Smith, the lawyer, for example, has defended the lawsuits of the relatives and friends of certain voters; so they like him. But in doing so he opposed the relatives and friends of other voters; therefore he is not popular with everyone. There are other personal reasons for certain voters' liking or not liking the other two candidates.

The real facts concerning the merits of the candidates would have nothing to do with all these things. The important facts would concern

only the relative fitness of each of the three candidates to be mayor. The real question is, In the light of his previous experience, his education, intelligence, honesty, and interest in governing the community, which man would make the best mayor?

But these facts are difficult, almost impossible, to get. Even approximations — even close estimates — could be made only by an impartial committee of trained community workers who were experts in problems of government and keen estimators of human personality. Only through a commission of such experts,



FIG. 155. Often political speeches made by members of the candidate's political party influence the votes of the people. (From a drawing by J. H. Donahey in *The Survey*)

devoting much time to the selection of facts concerning the candidates and the facts concerning the needs of the community, could a conclusion be reached that would be even approximately accurate.

And should such commissions exist would they have measuring devices by which they could measure the comparative abilities of the candidates for office? Would they have means of measuring the needs of the community? There are some means of doing this, but they are not nearly so accurate as our scales for measuring length, weight, volume, and the like. This lack of means of measuring facts is one of the chief weaknesses of the scientific study of social life.

THE "FACTS" OF SOCIAL LIFE ARE MIXED UP WITH THE
EMOTIONS, DESIRES, AND FEARS OF THE PEOPLE

Even if experts on government could measure exactly the merits of candidates, it is doubtful whether most of the voters would follow their recommendations. Many persons would vote for Smith merely because he was a Republican and they were Republicans, because he was a Mason and they were Masons, because he belonged to the Presbyterian Church and they liked the way he conducted himself there. Many others would vote for Allen because he was a Socialist and they were Socialists, because he was a Methodist and they were Methodists, because he was a brother Elk or a brother Odd Fellow, because he lived in their neighborhood and had been kind to them and their relatives, or for any one of many other reasons. Another large group would vote for Morgan because he belonged to the working class, because through the union he had helped the laboring men to get higher wages, because he was a Catholic, or for some other personal reason.

That is, even though the voters knew the facts concerning the candidates and the community needs, it is doubtful whether most of them would vote accordingly. Most of them would have personal, emotional reasons for choosing their candidates. They would probably vote in terms of likes or dislikes, prejudice or approval. That is, they would vote in terms of opinion rather than in terms of measured facts.

MOST PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, AND SOCIAL LIFE
ARE AS COMPLICATED AS THE FOREGOING EXAMPLE

We lack space for more examples. In your class discussions, you can consider others which show how difficult it is either to get the facts on any social problem or to follow them in making up one's mind. We can merely name a few examples that illustrate the kinds of problems about which citizens have to form conclusions frequently.

1. Deciding whether or not to approve an issue of bonds to be spent in improving a water system or to rebuild roads or to erect a new schoolhouse.

2. Choosing candidates for any office in the community, state, or nation.

3. Deciding whether local officials or state legislators or members of Congress have been honest and efficient in their work, so as to know whether or not to reelect them.

4. Deciding whether or not to approve laws and amendments proposed for state and national constitutions.

5. Deciding whether or not to believe reports of local, national, and world events which one reads in the newspapers.

IN EVERY COMMUNITY, THEREFORE, PUBLIC OPINION
IS BEING FORMED CONSTANTLY

Of one fact we can be sure — people are forming opinions all the time. They have opinions about the weather, about their employers, about how to spend their money ; about the fairness of the grocer, the butcher, the chain-store owners ; about their neighbors and the way they live ; about the schools and the way they are managed ; about social organizations and about many problems of community, national, and international affairs. Every grown-up person and most young people hold opinions and beliefs about a multitude of things, and these opinions and beliefs play a very important part in their lives. The sum total of all of them makes up the general public opinion of the communities and the nation.

TWO IMPORTANT KINDS OF AGENCIES HELP TO FORM THE OPINIONS OF AMERICANS

How we think and feel about life is determined in part by the social groups in which we live, but also in part by other factors around us. On the one hand we are influenced by our fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts ; by the others in the neighborhood ; by the school, the church, the government ; by our work ; by our clubs and other organizations. These are all examples of social groups — groups of human beings. On the other hand we are influenced by what we read in the newspapers, and the magazines, by what we hear over the radio, by what we see in the "movies," by the lectures we attend, even by the advertising that greets us on every side. These are examples of the nonhuman agencies that influence us.

Thus in studying what it is that forms the opinions of Americans, bear in mind the two chief kinds of influence upon us : first, the influence of the face-to-face groups with which we actually live ; second, the influence of the powerful, nonhuman things such as the press, the "movie," and the radio.

In the next chapter we shall illustrate how each of these two helps to form our opinions and beliefs, our attitudes and outlooks.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

See the readings listed in Chapter XVII.

CHAPTER XVII

HOW PUBLIC OPINION IS FORMED

HOW DO THE GROUPS IN WHICH AMERICANS PARTICIPATE INFLUENCE THEIR PERSONALITIES?

In earlier chapters we have read about the important groups among which most of our waking hours are lived. Now we shall ask: In what ways does each one help to determine our opinions and beliefs, our attitudes, what we approve and what we disapprove?

First, how does our family and home life determine our opinions and beliefs, the way we look at life, what we say and think about people, how we feel about our jobs, about the government, and the like?

Second, how are we influenced by the neighborhood groups in which we live?

Third, how do the school, the church, and other organizations help to mold us?

The answers to these three questions will illustrate the influence of groups upon the individual American.

I. HOW THE FAMILY AND THE HOME INFLUENCE PERSONALITIES

The kind of family into which one is born plays an important part in determining what kind of person he becomes. Throughout these books you have encountered many illustrations of the differences among families. We need only recall the broad range in income within a community, the great differences in wealth, in houses, clothes, automobiles, jobs, and in the organizations to which people belong. No two communities are alike; no two neighborhoods are alike; no two homes are alike.

Now the kind of home into which one is born will play a very important part in determining the kind of person one becomes.

The child who is born in a palatial stone or brick mansion will undoubtedly hold opinions about industry and business, work, play, and people that will vary greatly from those of the child born in a weaver's tiny house, a laboring man's city tenement, or an Iowa farmer's home. Similarly, the child born into the family of a college professor, teacher, lawyer, or doctor will adopt attitudes, hold opinions, and develop beliefs very different from those of the child born into the home of a recently arrived and illiterate immigrant family. Thus the very fact of birth into a particular kind of home contributes something to the kind of person that will be produced.

Let us study some examples to show how our attitudes, our opinions and beliefs, our likes and dislikes, are influenced by father, mother, and others in the home.

1. Attitudes and opinions about other economic groups¹

What do you think would be the effect upon the mind of young John Harris in the high school on hearing such a conversation as the following between his father and mother?

"Well, Mary," says Tom Harris as he enters the door, carrying his dinner pail, "I'm out of a job again. The men are on strike, and the mill's shut down."

"Did the Fenshaws try to cut your wages?"

"They certainly did — 15 per cent. They posted a notice today, announcing that because of the hard times and lack of orders, they'd have to make the cut. The union committee got together and voted to strike. Some of the men didn't agree. They thought they'd rather take part of their cake than not have anything to eat at all. But majority rules."

Or consider how Henry Fenshaw, home from the academy the same day, will feel toward the employees in the mill as he listens to his father talking to his uncle about the strike.

"You see, George, they struck just as I said they would if we cut their wages. These workingmen that we've taken care of all

¹ Most of the episodes in this chapter are from the author's private files of autobiographies collected since 1927.

their lives, providing rest rooms, shorter hours of work, and higher wages have no gratitude at all. Now that we're all up against hard times they aren't willing to share the losses with us."

"Yes, I think a law should be passed forbidding the forming of unions. We shouldn't have any trouble if it weren't for these labor agitators, and most of them are immigrants at that. I don't believe there is a single officer of any labor union in this



FIG. 156. Do you think that the sons and daughters of this group of miners probably think much alike on matters which pertain to their fathers' jobs?

town who is a real native American. These foreigners come crowding into our country and then in a short time think they can run things."

Do you think that Tom Harris's son will have much sympathy or understanding for the problems of employers? Is it likely that he will become a union man, too?

Do you think Henry Fenshaw will probably learn to be sympathetic and tolerant toward laboring men if he should ever take his father's place in the factory? Do such conversations as the foregoing tend to develop tolerance and open-mindedness toward various economic groups?

Consider another kind of home influence in the same community. Charles Thompson is discussing the strike with his father, the secretary of the Charity Organization Society. The headlines of the evening newspapers are before them.

"Oh, Dad, what do you think about this strike at the Fenshaw mill? The paper says that Fenshaw Brothers reduced the wages of the mechanics 15 per cent, and the men went out on strike. Here are interviews from both sides."

"Well, that's good. Generally, that paper prints only the employers' side. That's what they did when eleven lives were lost in that rickety old paper mill on Fallulah Road."

"Yes," Charles went on, "Mr. Mori, the president of the Central Labor Union, tells here that the men are living on what he calls 'starvation wages.' Most of them are barely able now to pay rent and buy food for their families. With a 15 per cent reduction they would soon be heavily in debt. So rather than accept it, they decided to strike. He says the employers have made millions in the past and that during these hard times they can afford to pay their men regular wages, because when things get more prosperous they'll make huge profits again. What do you think about it, Dad?"

"Well, Charles, there really is something to be said on both sides. It is true that the saw-makers' families in this town are in a pretty bad way. I went down there today, looking for Mike O'Donald's house. You know he's been sick, and our society has been helping him. The conditions in 'mill town' are really very bad. Naturally, the men feel when they look at the Fenshaw mansions up on the hill and see the Fenshaws riding around in Rolls-Royces that the money of the world isn't fairly divided.

"But I also understand how George Fenshaw and his brothers feel about it. Thirty years ago they were all poor boys here, working in the Rider saw factory themselves. They were unusually bright boys, and they worked hard day and night. Of course, they had good luck, too. They had advice as to when to invest their savings, and there is no doubt that they were fortunate in making money. But now that they have made it they feel that it is their own.

"Furthermore, it is true that they have raised wages and im-

proved the health conditions in their factory very much indeed. When they were boys in those shops, the mechanics worked ten hours a day, and they worked for very low wages. Now they work eight hours a day. There are other fine things they've done, too, such as giving the city parks and playgrounds and a fine library. So you see, Charles, there's something to be said on their side too."

"I understand, Dad, but ought there not to be some outsider who could help the workers and the Fenshaws decide questions of wages so that both sides could be satisfied? Isn't something wrong when most of the people in a town are almost starving, while a few others have much more money than they can ever spend?"

"Yes, son, I guess there is. But it's a very difficult problem, and strikes and interviews and mud-slinging aren't going to solve it. Nothing but a lot of hard thinking by temperate-minded men will solve it."

In the communities of America conversations like those which you have just read are going on in homes every day. Through them attitudes are being set, opinions and beliefs are being formed. Of the three kinds of homes into which you have just had a glimpse, which one do you think gives the greatest promise of developing fair-minded young people?

Here is one more example of how the elders in the family mold the attitudes of young people toward other classes and groups in the community. A young man recently told the writer:

"As I grew older an attitude was developed against working people. Their fathers worked for someone else; my father had his own business and his own office. Their fathers carried tin lunch pails; my father came home to lunch. They lived in rented houses; we owned our own house. Their mothers worked; my mother didn't have to. We went away in the summer; they stayed home. And these things were because we were 'better off' than they. We had more money. All these influences made me believe that I was better than they."

Thus we see that it isn't only conversations in the home which determine attitudes. It is the comparisons which young people

make between those in their own family and those outside the family. It is also the unspoken influence of many happenings in the home and the neighborhood that forms our opinions, beliefs, and attitudes.

2. Attitudes and opinions about other races and nationalities

In the family, also, we learn to form opinions and attitudes about other races and nationalities. Thomas R—— says that he lived for many years in a neighborhood in which for 200 years or more only native Americans had lived. Native Americans, of course, meant the old New England descendants of the Scotch and English ancestors who had first settled there after 1600. In the 1800's immigrants arrived and settled in the poorer quarters on the other side of the river. Gradually they moved into the native neighborhood. Then Thomas heard conversations between his father and mother like the following :

"I see another foreign family has taken the Snow house."

"Yes, it's the new superintendent of the saw shop. Seems to be rather a nice fellow. I walked to work with him the other day."

"Well, it won't be long before the neighborhood is all overrun with them. Others will come in, too."

Another person has told how an unjust attitude toward other Europeans was formed by his family :

"A family of Polish people moved in across the street. I never had an opportunity to see much of them—they were just a large litter of ragged children whose noses ran; a mother whose hair was never combed and who wore bedroom slippers in the street. I never knew them, because two weeks after they moved in we moved away, and a 'For Sale' sign was put up on our house. My mother explained that we were moving because you really couldn't live across the street from such people. Poles, it seemed, were even worse than working people! As a result of these family attitudes I have always had little respect or liking for Poles or other Slavs."

Episodes showing how attitudes were built up toward Jews

One person who has little race prejudice says :

"I was taught that our religious teachings were based on Judaism, so I respected Jewish tradition. Until I reached normal school I knew only two Jews, a business friend of my father's (greatly respected by the family) and a rabbi friend of my uncle's. Predisposed to like Jews, when I came to New York I found I enjoyed talking with them. They interested me greatly. The irritation they cause some people merely amuses me. I understand it but do not share it."

Another gives a different view :

"My family have always 'hated the Jews,' and, though I like some individuals among them very much, as a class I dislike them. I have often been terribly annoyed at myself for saying to myself 'Jew! Jew! Jew!' as I go about and see them everywhere."

Two episodes which illustrate how family life in the homes of white people forms attitudes toward Negroes

One person who likes them tells of his boyhood :

"Very early in my life I was given a strong sympathy toward the colored race. An escaped slave had been given shelter in the home of my grandmother, and this colored mammy lived the rest of her days as one of the family and gave her services to helping raise my father and his brothers and sisters. Colored people were rare in Canada, and sympathy for the slaves was strong. I was quite a grown boy before I realized that any people still held the Negro to be an inferior person."

A person who was brought up in another community tells how a belief in the superiority of white people and the inferiority of Negroes was developed in him :

"I recall vividly a street-car incident, when mother and I were sitting together and my father in front of us. A Negro sat down beside father, who promptly told him to sit in an empty seat across the aisle. The man refused, and father got up and stood, rather than sit beside him.

"There were countless instances like this throughout my childhood which prejudiced me thoroughly against associating with Negroes. This attitude was gradually modified, however, by a growing sense of human

rights, so that I have always felt that Negroes should be offered all that is offered to the whites in education. But I feel they should live by themselves.

"This race antagonism persisted, and, when I came to New York City years ago, I could not bring myself to take the city examination to teach them. Finally, I did so, and now I am teaching a few of the better-class Negroes, together with an immigrant Italian group."

3. Attitudes and opinions about politics

A business man made this remark: "My father was a Democrat, his father was a Democrat, so naturally I always vote the straight Democratic ticket."

Perhaps for every person who is a Democrat because his father and his grandfather were Democrats, there are a Republican and a Socialist who vote as they do for the same reason. The influence of our elders is very strong in forming our opinions about politics.

Another person, a Republican, tells how his father helped to form his attitudes and opinions:

"The family would be seated together after dinner in the dining or living room. Father would read from the paper or some magazine — always a Republican publication. No Democratic papers or magazines were taken. Father read aloud frequently from editorials or articles commenting on the active issues of the time. Very often the article would be so written as to inculcate a Republican bias by praising the achievements of the party or by criticizing the actions of the other party. After the article was read, Father might go on to explain the situation more fully and show how the political situation justified such a stand.

"The Republican bias thus started in my mind was strengthened by observation of the cartoons dealing with the Republican elephant and the Democratic donkey in which the donkey was always made to seem ridiculous."

Another person tells how he became a Democrat:

"When I was six years old my father died, and my mother took me and went to live in a small house on her father's farm. Here it was that the hotbed of politics held sway.

"Every night in autumn and winter my mother went over to her father's house to read and discuss the daily news. Politics held the greatest place in the conversation, especially if election day were near.

My grandfather was Irish, and he and all the members of his household were Democrats. Many a time I sat on a footstool at my mother's feet, listening. Although the opposition was small, the speaker seemed to be facing hundreds of the opposing party; he would beat the air or strike the table as if trying to convert and convince them all.

"Much of the conversation I could not understand, but some of it I understood, such as 'The Democrats favor the working class.' . . . 'If the Democrats win, every honest man will be given a chance to rise.'



FIG. 157. Is it reasonable to believe that the opinions on politics and other matters which the father of this family formed through his reading became the opinions of the other members as well?

"I knew my mother and grandfather were splendid people and of course never doubted their political views. Their politics became my politics."

In other instances, if the home environment was thoughtful and tolerant, less prejudiced attitudes developed. Here is an example :

"My father was always a defender of the other fellow. I cannot remember hearing him display the slightest prejudice toward any other race, nationality, or religion, or economic group. When one or another of the children, who had very strong prejudices, would exclaim about the Jews or Negroes, he always insisted that they were 'about like other people. There is not much difference between any of us humans

—Yankees and Irish, Protestants and Catholics, Jews and Gentiles, Republicans and Socialists. We all have about the same desires and fears, even if we have different ways of looking at life.'

"The influence of his tolerant attitudes was very great in making us more tolerant. To this day, I find it natural to associate with people of any color, race, nationality, religion, or political and economic views."

But attitudes and opinions toward economic groups, toward races and nationalities, toward political parties, are not the only ones which are formed by the family and the home.

4. Other attitudes and opinions

There are attitudes on other matters — which are also formed in the home.

An example of the way an intelligent, coöperative home forms tolerant, coöperative persons.

"In our family respect for the rights of our neighbors was stressed to an unusual degree. Roller skates were used only at certain hours, those being at a time when my mother felt our neighbors were busy with tasks which might keep them from being troubled by our noise. At other times we were sent to ask permission of our neighbors to use their sidewalks for our fun. We were taught to run errands and to offer our services without thought of pay. One duty of mine at the age of ten was to care for a neighbor's two-year-old child for a certain time each day. On Christmas morning we were delighted to take small baskets of homemade candies to our neighbors. I find that in some instances, now, I am more thoughtful of adults with whom I work in my school than they seem to be of me. I find that I don't interrupt when they are particularly busy and that I offer and give help when it is needed in putting over big pieces of work, school plays, school campaigns, and such things. These and many other things I ascribe to the influence of the quiet, thoughtful home atmosphere with which father and mother surrounded us."

An example of how home and group pressures made one person feel inferior for years. A woman who has long been shy and has found it difficult to be with people gives examples which illustrate how such an attitude was developed in childhood and youth:

1. "Continual reminders that I was fat, with the result that to this day I have an excessive sensitiveness to the imperfections of my body.

2. "Enforced wearing of boys' shoes, whose tabs drew the ridicule of the other children.
3. "Shamefacedly carrying a board to a picnic to sit on, because my mother feared I would take cold from the damp ground.
4. "Having my cousin call attention to the fact that I was wearing her outgrown clothing.
5. "Contrasts drawn by relatives between my sister's personality and mine (in my sister's favor).
6. "Dread of mother's illnesses."

Hundreds of examples might be quoted to show that at least our earliest attitudes and opinions on almost every subject are formed in the family. As in the case of the woman about whom you have just read, some of these persist through life; some are later modified or changed altogether. The following stories tell how still other attitudes and opinions are formed:

"Sunday in our home was not an unpleasant day — it was different, that was all. We never bought anything on Sunday because that would make the storekeeper work seven days a week. My father asked us how we should like it if he had to go to work seven days every week. He explained that if we did not like that prospect ourselves, we should respect the rights of other people.

"We were allowed to go walking but not riding unless some special occasion seemed to demand it. We played only 'quiet' games, but we had a goodly supply of interesting ones. We might read or work puzzles or, as a special treat, be allowed to look at a large red volume of the *Inferno* with illustrations by Doré. Popping corn, making candy, taking pictures — all these were fun and were quite permissible on Sunday."

A woman tells how her dislike of babies was first formed in her family when she was a little girl:

"I had been the center of attention of my parents, and of two adoring maiden aunts and a grandfather who lived next door. Then, abruptly, a new baby appeared on the scene, and there was an immediate change. A cousin was so smitten by the charms of my tiny sister as to establish promptly a trust fund for her college education. To say that my 'nose was put out of joint'¹ is stating it mildly! I assume that I resented the intrusion of the newcomer very deeply. The 'ah's' and 'oh's,' the cooings and baby talk, the tickling, squeezing, fondling, toss-

¹ To have one's "nose put out of joint" means to feel slighted or insulted because one's place has been taken by another.

ing, and hugging with which my cousin evinced admiration for my baby sister must have filled my childish heart with acute envy and blind jealousy. Certain it is that now these same manifestations, whether on the part of friends or strangers, arouse in me the greatest dislike. Thus arose one of my distinctive characteristics: a profound dislike of babies."

Another woman describes how her dislike for most men started in her girlhood home:

"A deep-rooted attitude that must have originated during early years arose, I believe, from my resentment that while my boy cousins were allowed what seemed to me untrammelled freedom, I was constantly being told not to do this or that because I was a girl. Rebellious, I asked 'Why can't I? He is allowed to.' Mother usually replied that Henry was a boy and *I* was a girl. How that rankled, and still rankles, and I believe will always rankle. It set my attitude toward most men."

In another instance teasing developed deep-seated attitudes:

"This teasing played an important part in the molding of my attitude toward men today. As a mere child I walked home from school with two small boys who lived on the adjoining farm, and the unmerciful teasing which I received from some of the older members of my family made me very miserable at times and caused me to keep as far away from boys as possible."

It is not only the spoken words that tend to mold our opinions and outlooks. Often it is the unspoken or partially spoken word that influences us; at other times it is the things which happen in the family about which no word is spoken.

One youth tells the following, for example:

"It wasn't so much what my father and mother said that made me grow up feeling such an inferior person. It was the unspoken things that happened in the family. By the time I was ten years old I became conscious that when Father came home tired out from his work he almost always had to go down in the basement and work at the repairing of shoes and replacing worn-out things in the house. Sundays likewise rarely ever meant rest for him. He was slaving constantly to keep our little place looking well.

"Mother too worked long hours. She scrubbed floors, mended our clothes, and did the washing and ironing!

"And then the boarders! How I came to hate the boarders in our house. They seemed to me to be outsiders. Yet I knew that without the few dollars each week that they brought into the family, we might not have enough to eat. Certainly we couldn't pay the interest on the mortgage, which came due every July and January. I don't think I grew resentful of the wealthy people on the hill, but I'm sure that I grew up with a sense of my own inferiority. In later years, even after going through college and being received everywhere, it was difficult for me not to adopt the attitude of humble respect with which I had grown up as a boy."

Summing up the influences of the family

Thus we see that the families into which we are born and the homes in which we grow up often leave a lasting impression upon our lives.

People who grow up in poverty, who live crowded together in two or three bare rooms, who have to eat cheap and unappetizing food, who find it difficult to make ends meet, who rarely have a vacation, usually grow up with certain feelings toward other people who appear to have more than they have. They see the fine clothes and the expensive automobiles, the large, beautiful residences and estates of the few well-to-do of the community. They note the great differences among the neighborhoods of their community. Is it not almost inevitable that they shall form certain opinions about people who live differently from them?

And those who grow up in fine houses, with servants to do their work, experience great difficulty in learning respect for the people who live in the tenements, who appear unshaven, who probably speak English badly, who look like "foreigners." The very physical appearance of the other groups helps to form these opinions and attitudes. And physical appearance plays a very important part in forming attitudes. It is difficult to remember that underneath the shabby clothes, the unwashed faces, are human beings who think and feel in much the same way as the finely dressed men and women. Thus you see that the exterior man plays a large part in molding the interior man.

However, soon other influences, outside the home, begin to make themselves felt. These *neighborhood influences* we shall consider next.

II. HOW THE NEIGHBORHOOD INFLUENCES PERSONALITIES

You may have already inferred from Chapter III that each neighborhood, although standing in general for a fairly uniform kind of living, nevertheless contains families with very different outlooks. Even their incomes vary somewhat.

Let us look at the houses and the people who live in one small neighborhood: In the corner house on Garfield Street in



© Ewing Galloway, New York

FIG. 158. Even in a neighborhood like this, where the houses look much alike, the families vary in beliefs and attitudes. Young people are influenced by what their playmates do

Laneville lives the superintendent of the mill. Beside him lives a thrifty carpenter, who by a hard struggle has saved enough to buy his own little house, although there is still a large mortgage on it. Opposite lives the floorwalker in the local department store; next to him a master machinist; beyond him an elevator man, who is able to live in the neighborhood because of the combined earnings of three children, who left school at an early age. Beyond the elevator man there lives an automobile salesman; across the street the manager of the local hotel has his home. Then

follow, in succession, a teamster, the driver of an ice wagon, and three clerks in stores on Main Street.

On the whole it is a lower-middle-class neighborhood; in no single house is there much wealth. Yet the children of the carpenter, the machinist, the elevator man, and the clerks note the respectful ways in which their parents greet the superintendent of the factory and the manager of the hotel. They learn to notice, also, that these people have larger and better-kept lawns around their houses. They rarely, if ever, wear soiled or patched clothing. Each has one general servant. Now and then fine automobiles drive up to these houses and take the mothers of the families out to ride. Thus the children of the working class learn a certain kind of respect for those of greater means. A feeling of "their place" grows in their minds. Sometimes a feeling of inferiority grows and works a bad influence on their lives.

In addition to these silent influences, attitudes and beliefs are being formed by neighborhood gossip and neighborhood opinions. When we are very small, we may listen to such neighborhood talk as the following: "Old Mrs. Garfinckle complains that the foreign servants one gets nowadays don't know how to keep their place."

On another porch, Mrs. Moller and Mrs. Sullivan exchange confidences about their children:

"I don't know what I am going to do about George," says Mrs. Moller. "I had no idea we had so many Negroes in this part of the town until the other day I saw them all trooping out of the high school. And as for Mr. Hall's Academy, they say that he has more Jews than Christians!"

Mrs. Sullivan's problem is even more acute:

"Here I have got myself a nice home in one of the best streets, and my boys run down to the Old Town playground almost every afternoon to play with their 'hunky' and Italian schoolmates. You should hear the language they bring home!"¹

We overhear a conversation about Mrs. Smith and Mrs. Jones. We learn that Mrs. Smith has adopted a little orphan, and we conclude that she must be a fine person. We learn that Mrs. Jones hasn't paid her butcher bill for two months, and we decide that

¹ Adapted from *And Who Is My Neighbor?* (published by *The Inquiry*, New York, 1924), p. v.

she is dishonest. Thus our opinions about Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Jones, and many other persons in the neighborhood, community, and nation are formed.

Other attitudes and opinions are formed in the neighborhood because the neighbors like or dislike, approve or disapprove, certain things.

The following illustrations show how neighborhoods influence what we do, our recreations, our choice of friends, and our work.

"Among other attitudes and opinions that, as a youth, I accepted from neighborhood and family influences were these :

1. Dancing is immoral.
2. Card-playing is wrong, for cards are the tools of the devil.
3. Only church members can be trusted.
4. Always vote the straight Republican ticket.
5. 'Blood will tell.'
6. Poverty is a disgrace.
7. A person's success in life depends upon his material wealth."

Another person says :

"In my neighborhood you had to be very careful of what the neighbors would think. Some girls in high school who didn't live in the neighborhood were getting jobs as waitresses in hotels for the summer. I wanted to get such a job. I was not allowed to. 'What would the neighbors think of your father if he let you do such a thing?' I had to be home very early from all high-school parties, for late hours brought forth the question 'What will the neighbors think?'"

Still another says :

"As we left high school and began to choose our various careers we discovered that there were things you could do and things you couldn't do in our neighborhood if you wanted to keep the approval of your friends. Studying dramatics or making plans to go on the stage was not to be thought of. Only a low class of 'vulgar' people did that. Dancing as a profession was also frowned on."

Early and direct experiences with the grown-ups of the neighborhood also influence opinions and attitudes. Like those formed in the family some of these attitudes and opinions have lasting effects. Note this example :

"I remember that when I was first permitted to play in the neighborhood the first grown-ups I spoke to were a young married woman

and a very old woman. When my companions and I played hide and seek, running across the lawn and hiding behind the cellar door of the young woman's house, she often invited us in to have cookies and milk. But when we played a sort of hopscotch on the stone steps of the house of the old woman, she came out and chased us away with shrill threats. As I look back I find that as a result of these experiences for a long while I was inclined to be friendly toward all young women and to distrust all old women, my grandmother only excepted."

Another person says:

"To go back to the neighborhood family that influenced me most: Mr. and Mrs. R. had no children and much money. They frequently gave us lovely gifts. About once a week we all dined in their home. The evening was usually spent in looking at pictures and hearing about the travels of the R.'s at home and abroad. Sometimes we had victrola music — the operas and classics. We had a great deal of respect for Mr. and Mrs. R. and we — my brothers and I — attribute much of our love of good music and the enjoyment of our trips at home and abroad to their influence."



FIG. 159. Grown-ups are also influenced by the opinions and attitudes of their neighbors

What the neighborhood thinks of some races and nationalities and religions influences the ideas, the opinions, and attitudes of those who grow up in that neighborhood. The following story illustrates what happened in two branches of the same family as a result of the neighborhoods in which they settled:

"When my folks came to America they settled on the lower East Side of New York, which was at that time 100 per cent Jewish. For some years we were brought up with other East Side children. Here it

was a simple matter to teach us Jewish ideas, habits, customs. My aunt and uncle, however, settled in Boston, where a large percentage of their neighborhood was Gentile. My Boston cousins did not have impressed upon their minds and hearts these Jewish ideas, and soon because of their companions they became more like Gentiles than like Jews."

The neighborhood influences in another part of the country are illustrated by the following account :

"I was born in a small town in Iowa, where the leaders of all phases of community life were members of the 'old families.' My parents too belonged to this 'old family' group, both parents having been born and reared within the community. In my neighborhood, strangers and newcomers were looked upon with questioning and even dislike.

"The leaders in this community were very religious, all Protestants, and very prejudiced against Catholics; in fact, as a youngster I had the idea that the Catholics were always plotting to get control of the United States government, and, if they did, all Protestants would be killed.

"Negroes too were looked upon with great disfavor, the idea being held in our community that all black people were thieves. This anti-Negro feeling was so strong that the few colored families who came to town soon moved to Kansas City or Chicago where they could escape this prejudice.

"These three attitudes — (1) antipathy to strangers, (2) prejudice against Catholics, and (3) prejudice against Negroes — became my own, and it has taken time and effort on my part to overcome them."

III. HOW THE CHURCH AND THE SCHOOL HELP TO FORM OUR PERSONALITIES

Many of the attitudes which are formed in the family are strengthened by the Church. In the wiser homes attitudes of respect for honesty, truthfulness, justice, and the other virtues are developed. The churches too aim to strengthen these attitudes. Often the finest part of our personality has been built up under the influence of the Church.

But sometimes intolerance is taught in the churches. For example, it would not be difficult for us to print here accounts showing that narrow-minded and prejudiced Protestants have tried to build up attitudes against Catholics, while similar attempts have been made by Catholics to belittle Protestants.

Often the Church has great influence in forming attitudes and opinions besides those already mentioned. The following example illustrates this point:

"At the beginning of the World War the minister of our church often expressed the attitude that the war was all wrong and that the entrance of the United States into the struggle would work nothing but



FIG. 160. The school plays a part in developing our personalities. Sometimes new attitudes and opinions are formed there. Sometimes attitudes are changed by its influence

harm. When the war had progressed, however, and false stories of 'Hun atrocities' had been spread abroad by the newspapers, he delivered a forceful sermon to the effect that he had reversed his opinion and now considered it the duty of the United States to enter the war and put a stop to the devastation caused by Germany's invasion of Belgium. This sermon had a powerful effect and influenced a large proportion of the congregation so that they were in favor of America's entering the war."

In the school, attitudes are formed by other pupils, by the teachers and principals. Often attitudes are changed completely

or destroyed. Sometimes old attitudes are strengthened. Sometimes new ones are built up.

As you read the following episode ask yourself what happened; that is, was an old attitude strengthened, modified, or destroyed, or a new one created?

"The school I attended as a young boy was composed mainly of the children of foreign parents. My parents, being moderately prosperous, supplied me with clothes that were much better than those of my playmates. I was not conscious of this until an incident occurred when I was in the first grade.

"The teacher had informed us that we were to have our pictures taken the following Friday afternoon. My mother, hearing of it, decided that my new suit must be ready for the occasion. It had a white stiff collar and a bright red tie.

"Friday noon I was washed and scrubbed and put into my beautiful new suit. I was almost as delighted with it as was my mother. Shortly after I got back to school the photographer arrived and the picture was taken. I still have a copy of it, and when I look at it I feel sorry for myself, the one child in the group that was all dressed up. The others had on ragged, dirty clothes; their faces were unwashed, and their hair untidy.

"In the schoolroom again the children began to whisper about my clothes. They threw such taunts as: 'When will he have his hair curled and ribbons tied to it?' or 'Did you notice the little girl we have with us this afternoon?'

"I hated to be called a girl; shortly after school I had a fight with three different boys about it. When I arrived home I was a mess. My red tie was torn, my collar was spotted with blood and marked by dirty fingers. My suit was covered with the dirt of the street. I was a changed boy. My mother was horrified.

"From that time on I became aware of the clothes that my associates wore and tried not to differ. Although my parents tried to force me, I would never again wear that suit. As time went on this attitude toward dress and fear of social disapproval became stronger; even when I finally discovered the reason for it I could not overcome it."

We have now discussed the groups which influence our lives from the very beginning — the home, the neighborhood, the Church, and the school. As we grow older, other face-to-face groups begin to play a part.

IV. ORGANIZATIONS ALSO SHAPE OUR ATTITUDES AND OPINIONS

In Chapter VII we learned of other face-to-face groups in America — the many organizations that Americans join. Labor unions and chambers of commerce, fraternal societies and neighborhood clubs, patriotic and memorial societies — thousands of organizations with tens of millions of members.

These organizations also play an important part in determining our attitudes about many matters. They mold our opinions about wages, hours of labor, qualities of laborers and business men. They help us to form our opinions about local and national politics. For example, members argue about which political party to vote for, the merits and defects of candidates for office, the passing of the local bond issue for a new school. Conversations go on about social problems in the community — race questions, church and religious differences. Every aspect of life is talked over and opinions formed about it.

Of course the attitudes of many people are formed before they join organizations, but their contacts with the labor unions, the Rotary Club, and the lodge help to strengthen or to change them. For example, members of the labor union generally develop attitudes of loyalty toward other members, and sympathy for other unions. Generally they also develop an attitude of unfriendliness toward those workers who are not members of unions. When they hold feelings against employers of labor, these feelings are especially strengthened during periods of unemployment or during strikes. They voice such opinions as "Labor never gets a square deal unless it fights for it"; "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common."

Likewise members of organizations of the employers feel loyalty toward members of their organizations and sympathy toward other organizations of employers. Their feeling against members of unions is strengthened during boycotts or strikes. They form such opinions as "Labor is out to get all it can for as little as it can give"; "We take all the risks; labor wants all the profits."

And so members of unions and of employing organizations finally hold such attitudes and opinions that tolerant understanding of each other's aims and desires becomes almost impossible.

Thus membership in labor unions, on the one hand, and membership in organizations of the employing groups, on the other hand, help to make still stronger the attitudes and opinions already held by the members of these opposing groups. In such groups it is very difficult, indeed, to hear both sides of an industrial dispute fairly presented. Almost invariably only one side is given. How much chance is there in such organizations for real practice in tolerant thinking about the problems of the day? Does this make clear to you how important our attitudes and opinions are to American civilization?

Up to this point we have studied the rôle of the face-to-face groups in forming public opinion. Now let us consider the influence of the powerful nonhuman agencies.

V. THE RÔLE OF THE NEWSPAPER IN SUPPLYING INFORMATION AND IN FORMING ATTITUDES AND OPINIONS

Is the newspaper important in forming our attitudes and opinions? Every student of public life assures us that it is. Ask any group of men what affects public opinion in their community. Almost everyone will name, among other things, the newspaper.

Turn back to Chapter XV and review the facts presented there concerning the widespread influence of the yellow newspapers in determining public opinion about crimes. There is no disagreement among the authorities on such matters. The headlines which come to us day after day help to form our opinions about citizens arrested for crime, about public officials, about problems of government, about labor unions, employers, races, and nationalities.

Consider also the influence of newspapers in forming public opinion about war and international relations. For example, there is a widespread conviction that a prominent syndicate of newspapers played a leading part in bringing about the Spanish-American War in 1898. Authorities are agreed that the tone of the articles in these newspapers aroused millions of people to demand war against Spain.⁶⁴ On the other hand, you will recall from your earlier studies how, in a similar emergency, certain other newspapers by influencing public opinion helped to prevent war between the United States and Great Britain.

Presidents and prime ministers are convinced that the newspaper is a fair indication of the public opinion of the country. Recently a president of the United States announced as one of his chief arguments for opposing a bill that offered a plan for the relief of the farmers that most of the newspapers of the country were against it. This incident helps to show the power of the press today.

A famous British journalist wrote as long ago as 1886, when newspapers were less influential than they are now:

I am but a comparatively young journalist, but I have seen cabinets upset, ministers driven into retirement, laws repealed, great social reforms initiated . . . generals nominated, governors appointed, armies sent hither and thither, war proclaimed, and war averted by the agency of newspapers.

Do newspapers influence public opinion by presenting proved facts? Authorities are inclined to think not. As we learned in Chapter XV, in the past 40 years there has been a sharp decline in the proportion of newspaper space devoted to supplying information. Today the average newspaper-reader receives very little information, indeed, of the truth of controversies in industry, agriculture, business, international affairs, and the like. Instead he receives emotional, and sometimes imaginary, accounts of scandal, crime, and controversies of various kinds. These form his attitudes, *without proved and measured facts*. Dr. Peter Odegard, a student of public opinion, says of the matter:

In every social gathering one hears arguments dismissed and evidence discounted as "mere newspaper talk." None the less, newspapers continue to influence opinion through their interpretation of current



FIG. 161. If you read only the newspaper in which *this* cartoon was printed, what would you think of the problem of immigration? (Courtesy of the Birmingham Age-Herald)

events, through editorials, and through the character and amount of news which they print. The constant iteration of any idea in a daily newspaper will presently capture public attention, whether the idea be good or bad, sensible or foolish.¹

It is very difficult to determine the real extent of the newspaper's influence :

The basic attitudes of most men and women are pretty well formed before they begin to read newspapers. The family, the school, and the

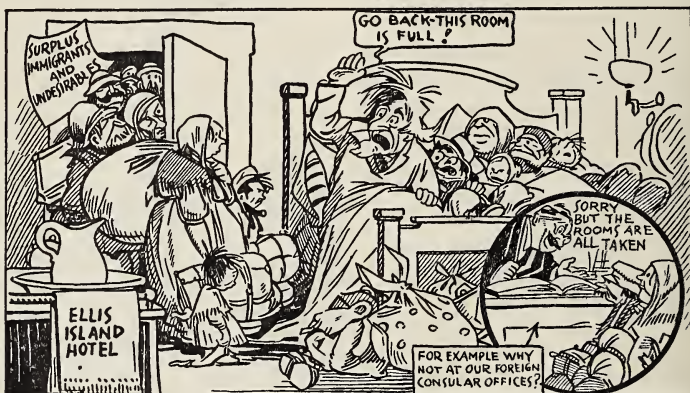


FIG. 162. If you read only the newspaper in which *this* cartoon was printed, what would you think of the problem of immigration? (Darling in *Collier's*)

church have done their work. Newspapers rarely make opinions—they play upon existing ones. Few persons buy papers which are consistently at odds with their cherished beliefs. Few persons reared in Catholic homes and educated in parochial schools will regularly purchase an anti-Catholic paper. A Southern Democrat will rarely read a Republican paper. A map of some 2200 newspapers in the United States shows that practically no Republican dailies are published in the solid Democratic South. In solid Republican states the reverse is true. In Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Wisconsin, Minnesota, the Dakotas, Michigan, Nebraska, and Washington, Democratic dailies are few and far between.¹

¹ Peter Odegard, *The American Public Mind*, pp. 116–117. Columbia University Press, New York, 1930.

VI. OTHER AGENCIES ALSO HELP TO FORM OUR ATTITUDES AND OPINIONS

Space is lacking to discuss more than a few of the other agencies which help to mold public opinion and attitudes. We can do little more than enumerate them.

1. *Magazines and books.* Fully as influential as the newspapers are the millions of magazines and books read by our people each



FIG. 163. Do you think the man will try a "roast-beef sandwich?" Advertising helps to mold our attitudes, opinions, customs, and tastes. (Courtesy of *Forbes*)

year. What Leon Whipple, another student of public opinion, says of one of our widely read weekly magazines is a fair estimate of the influence of many others:

This [magazine] is a magic mirror; it not only reflects, it creates us. What the — is, we are. Its advertising helps standardize our physical life; its text stencils patterns on our minds. It is a main factor in raising the luxury-level by teaching us new wants . . . by blunt or subtle devices it molds our ideas on crime, prohibition, Russia, oil, preparedness, immigration, the World Court. . . . This bulky nickel's worth of print and pictures is a kind of social and emotional common denominator of American life.¹

¹ From the *Survey Graphic*, March 1, 1928.

2. *The "movies."* Perhaps next in importance among the agencies influencing our opinions and tastes is the motion picture. Millions of Americans see one "movie" a week; many see two or more. Think for a moment of the way in which these emotional dramas of the screen help people to make up their minds about other people, government, law, or customs. The plots themselves, the conversation of the characters, and the settings of the picture all tend to affect the thoughts and feelings of Americans.

3. *The radio.* Each day and each night millions of American minds are also receiving facts, impressions, attitudes, and opinions by the voices that come to them over the radio. Many students believe that the radio is destined to become one of our most powerful agencies in forming opinion. Over it one person can reach 50,000,000 pairs of ears or more at the same moment.

4. *Advertising.* In Chapter XIX you will learn more of the tremendous rôle of advertising in molding the attitudes, opinions, and tastes of our people. At this point, therefore, remember that it should be added to our list of important agencies of public opinion.

SUMMING UP: HOW PUBLIC OPINION IS FORMED

We have now illustrated the two chief kinds of agencies which help to make the Americans what they are: first, the face-to-face groups in which people live; second, the nonhuman agencies which influence personalities.

Of these we found that the face-to-face groups in which most of our waking life is spent — the family, the neighborhood, the school, the Church, and the various organizations to which we belong — exert the most important influence. They exert this influence chiefly through conversation — through criticism or praise, approval or disapproval. But gestures also play an important part. Attitudes are conveyed to others by smiles or frowns, through facial expressions of shocked astonishment or of delight, through the shrug of a shoulder or some other significant gesture. Hour after hour all through our lives such things change our attitudes and points of view, our opinions and beliefs. Little by little they help form our personalities.

Second in importance are the nonhuman forces which beat upon us day after day. Outstanding among these are the newspapers (and to a lesser extent magazines and books), which reach most of the homes of America each day. But other agencies are important — for example, the "movies," which nearly half of our people attend each week; the radio, already installed in millions of homes; and advertising, which greets us on billboards, in newspapers, magazines, and theater programs, in busses and subway trains, even in the skies.

Taken all together these influences make up public opinion in America.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

- BENNETT, ARNOLD, and KNOBLOCK, E. *Milestones*. Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York. A play: three generations, showing the differences in their ideals and standards.
- FISHER, DOROTHY CANFIELD. *The Bent Twig*. Henry Holt and Company, New York. The story of a good mother's influence on her daughter's life.
- GRAVES, W. BROOKE. *Readings in Public Opinion*. D. Appleton and Company, New York. Excellent discussions of the various forces that form and control public opinion.
- HILL, HOWARD C. *Community Civics*. Ginn and Company, Boston. See Chapter I, Section IV, "How we Control One Another"; Chapter II, Section II, "What we learn at Home."
- KALTENBORN, H. V. "Radio: Dollars and Nonsense," *Scribner's Magazine*, May, 1931. This article shows the influence of the radio on people.
- LYND, ROBERT S. and HELEN. *Middletown*. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York. See especially Chapter XXVIII, "Things making and unmaking Group Solidarity."
- MARSHALL, LEON C. *Readings in the Story of Human Progress*. The Macmillan Company, New York. See Chapter XIV, section 1, "Some Early Forms of Social Control."
- ODEGARD, PETER. *The American Public Mind*. Columbia University Press, New York. A discussion of the forces that have made the American think as he does.
- WALPOLE, HUGH. *Jeremy*. A story of a boy and the forces that mold him. Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York.

CHAPTER XVIII

LIBERTY IN THE AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to my conscience, above all other liberties. — JOHN MILTON

They who deny freedom to others, deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God cannot long retain it. — ABRAHAM LINCOLN

We can now center our Study upon Problems of Liberty in Modern America

Freedom! Is there anything more ardently desired by everyone? Freedom to work at one's chosen occupation; freedom to move about as one wishes; freedom to think one's own thoughts and to speak one's own mind; freedom to meet with others in public discussion; freedom to write what one believes and to worship according to one's own conscience.

Taken all together these desires go far toward explaining the development of American life. The Declaration of Independence, for example, definitely states that men are "endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Similarly, the American Constitution states that the American people ordained and established it in order to "promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

But to understand what liberty and these unalienable rights are and how they can be protected in a complex modern society is an exceedingly difficult matter.

CIVIL LIBERTY AND POLITICAL LIBERTY: TWO PRINCIPAL TYPES

There are two important types of liberty: (1) civil liberty, (2) political liberty.

1. *Civil liberty.* This includes the rights enjoyed by practically all the people of a country. They may be rights either of personal security or of personal liberty. Let us illustrate.

Every American has the legal right to live a secure life. As an American citizen he can expect the national, state, and local governments to protect him so that he may live in safety, in good health, and in comfort so far as the American standard of living permits. To guarantee this personal security to the individual citizen, the government establishes legislatures, courts, and departments of fire, police, health, mental hygiene, and the like. Communities build and operate schools, playgrounds, and parks and so help to guarantee each man, woman, and child in America this right of personal security.

In addition to these rights of security, there are also the rights of personal liberty. These are

- a. The right of free speech — that is, the right to speak what one believes to be true.
- b. The right of a free press — that is, the right to state one's thoughts, ideas, beliefs, plans, or criticisms in writing.
- c. The right of free assembly — that is, the right to meet with other persons in public or in private buildings, in streets, squares, parks, or other open places, to discuss matters of public or private interest.
- d. The right to petition the government on any matter.
- e. The right to religious freedom — to worship according to one's beliefs.
- f. The right to fair treatment by the government — for example, the right to a fair trial in court and protection against illegal confinement.

These, then, are the chief civil rights guaranteed to each of us living in the American democracy.

2. *Political liberty.* But civil liberty can be guaranteed to each citizen only by first guaranteeing him political liberty, that is, the right to share in the government — to vote and to hold office. Throughout modern history, the attempts of men to secure civil rights have been bound up closely with their struggle to bring about greater political liberty. Recall from your earlier studies the struggles for liberty in America.¹ But remember also that long before this time people in other countries had fought for civil and political rights.

¹ At this point you should gather together the chief facts of the history of this struggle from the previous volumes of this series. See especially Volume IV, *A History of American Government and Culture*.

HOW OLD IS THE IDEA OF INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY?

Had we space to make a thorough study of this question we should go back a long time — at least back to those times when the individual citizen, the *common man*, had no “unalienable rights.” Our study would show, for example, that even in comparatively recent times such rights were held only by a favored few — the kings, the nobles, and the clergy. The idea that, from the moment of birth, men and women have a *right* to personal security, a *right* to speak their minds, to assemble for the purpose of free discussion, a *right* to vote and hold office, is a relatively new one, even in the Western world. Certainly it was not believed by the Greeks and Romans less than 2000 years ago. It was not put into practice in Europe in the Middle Ages or in most parts of Europe even as late as the nineteenth century.

As was shown in *Changing Civilizations in the Modern World*, the common man was practically a slave even as late as 1100 A.D. Recall that

most of the people in the village, however, belong to the lord of the manor, who has supreme power over them, except that he cannot buy or sell them. . . .

These peasants can neither buy nor sell the land. They cannot even leave it. . . . They obey the lord, and in exchange for his protection they plow, cultivate, and harvest his land.

For several hundred years more only a few of the people, those who had the good fortune to be born the children of the ruling class, had civil and political liberty.

Slowly throughout the centuries, however, from about the 1100's to the 1500's, the idea spread in Europe that every man, woman, and child had certain rights, that each person could expect of the government security from murderers, robbers, disease, and fire. Some gains were therefore made in civil liberty. But a long struggle lasting hundreds of years was required to extend other rights, such as political liberty and the rights of free speech, free press, and a fair trial, to all the people.

Gradually, especially in England, people of intelligence and ambition rose from the ranks of the common people and de-

manded a larger share in the government.¹ These new leaders, as you will recall, were the merchants, shipowners, and manufacturers. As their trade grew, their wealth increased. As this happened, their power grew. Steadily they demanded and secured a larger share in the government. Steadily the control of kings and nobles and clergy declined.

By 1600 the demand for individual liberty had become quite general in England. Thousands of people were very discontented.



FIG. 164. King John of England (1199–1216) signing the Magna Carta. This document granted certain civil rights to freemen but no guaranty of rights was made for the serfs — the great mass of the common people. (From a painting by Albert Herter in the State Capitol of Wisconsin)

Those of intelligence and education were demanding freedom to vote, to hold office, and to share in other ways in the government. They wanted also freedom to worship as they wished, freedom to earn a living, to write and speak what was on their minds. But the kings and their governments were unwilling to grant these political and civil rights. Instead of doing so, they oppressed their discontented people still more. As a result of this oppression many of these brave and independently minded persons left England and settled in the New World. Thus the beginnings of our own national history are found in this struggle of western Europeans for political and civil liberty.

¹ Turn back to *A History of American Civilization*, especially Chapters III and IV, for the story of how this took place.

At this point you should review the story of America's
struggle for political and civil liberty

Once landed and settled in America, did all the struggling Europeans find liberty in the New World? You can answer that question from your earlier studies of the century-and-a-half struggle of the poorer colonists to secure a share in the government of the colonies.

In every section, from south to north, a few well-to-do merchants and landowners controlled the government. In Virginia, in the early 1600's, the first government was thoroughly undemocratic. In Massachusetts Bay Colony eight aristocratic stockholders ruled 2000 colonists. Gradually some power in the government was extended to a slightly larger number of settlers. During that period, however, only those who belonged to the Established Church and also owned a certain amount of property had political liberty — that is, could vote and hold office. Furthermore, in these new colonies, which had been established in the pursuit of liberty, such civil rights as trial by jury were denied.

At the same time, often the well-to-do owners of property who had civil liberty did not allow others to have that right. Recall examples: Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson were driven out of Massachusetts and established Rhode Island because of their desire for religious freedom. Thomas Hooker and his people established Connecticut for the same reason. Do not forget Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia (1676) and the short-lived era of democracy which followed. The history of colonial Pennsylvania, too, reveals the revolt of the poorer Scotch-Irish frontiersmen against the Quaker aristocracy. North Carolina also was the scene of a long conflict of the frontiersmen with the seaboard aristocracy. These examples illustrate a few of the struggles for religious freedom and political rights — the struggle for two kinds of liberty.

The struggle over rights took another form in the prolonged conflict between the colonists and the king. Recall the trial of John Peter Zenger in the New York colony (1735) and the attempt to maintain the rights of freedom of speech and of the press. Perhaps most conspicuous of all examples was the deter-

mined attempt of the colonists in the 1760's and early 1770's to maintain their civil rights of free speech and personal security and their political rights of self-government.

As a matter of fact, the war for American independence was fought in part because of the determination of leading Americans to defend these "unalienable rights." The result, as you know so well, was the defeat of British arms, the recognition of the



FIG. 165. Quakers being driven from Massachusetts Bay Colony because of their religious beliefs. (From the *London Graphic*, 1884)

thirteen colonies as an independent country,—the United States of America,—and the formation of the American Constitution.

No sooner was the new nation started on its way, however, than the conflict over civil and political liberty began again. The Constitution was drawn up by a small group of well-to-do and intelligent landowners, merchants, and bankers. But, as you remember, it contained no Bill of Rights. There was great opposition to the ratification of the Constitution in that form, and it passed in some states only when those states were promised that a Bill of Rights would be added to the Constitution. This was done. The first ten amendments were passed before

the close of 1791. Among them were guaranties that Congress would pass no law respecting worship, or abridging free speech, free assembly, and petition. Security against excessive bail and unfair punishments was also guaranteed. The American people

were likewise promised freedom from the quartering of soldiers in their homes in times of peace and from the unreasonable search of person or property. Thus in the most important legal document of America civil rights were guaranteed the people.¹

As America marched slowly on toward democracy, other conflicts over civil and political liberty arose. In decade after decade individual Americans braved the dangers of open conflict in the attempt to defend their civil and political rights. Recall, for example, that in 1798, during the struggle of the Federalists and the



FIG. 166. During colonial times the quartering of British soldiers in the colonists' homes caused much bitter feeling between citizens and soldiers. This led to the passage of the Third Amendment to the Constitution. (By permission of the artist, H. A. Ogden)

Jeffersonian-Republicans, the Alien and Sedition Acts were passed. A "Reign of Terror" followed, during which freedom of speech was forcibly suppressed. Even members of Congress were thrown into jail; ministers, school-teachers, and other private citizens were imprisoned and fined for attempting to criticize the government.

But, as the people retained their political rights, they soon turned the Federalists out of office and put the "Republicans" in. But did *that* guarantee the "unalienable rights" of "life,

¹ See *A History of American Government and Culture*, pp. 144-145 and p. 613.

liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"? Many people living then thought that it did not. Steadily during the first quarter of the nineteenth century one section of the country after another defied the central government for what the people regarded as its high-handed actions.

The westward movement across the Appalachians still further developed the spirit of individual liberty. At the same time there was an increasing demand for political liberty among the laboring men of the Eastern towns and cities. Everywhere people were demanding a larger share in government — more political liberty in order that they could more surely guarantee their civil rights. Recall, for example, the struggle that went on over the right to vote. Gradually, in the first half-century of national life, more and more white men were given the right to vote. But it required 30 years of bitter controversy and a great civil war, with the destruction of millions of lives and the crippling of a whole section of the nation, before black men were given the same privilege.

In addition, there was the long fight of women for political liberty. Throughout all the 1600's, 1700's, and 1800's American women were not allowed to vote or to hold office. In many states they were denied even the right to own property! You know now about the long struggle during the 1800's of the brave leaders who demanded equal political rights for women. You also know, however, that the century passed before this "unalienable" right was given to them by the Nineteenth Amendment, ratified in 1920.

After the Civil War came 50 years of conflict over other civil and political liberties. You know the story of the energetic and brilliant industrial leaders who built up great business enterprises and secured a dominant position in government. You have studied many examples of the way in which the politicians protected Big Business by maintaining a high tariff, by attempting to control the Supreme Court, and by securing the passage of laws favorable to their own interests. You also know the story of the political revolt of farmers and city workers against this control; how the common man formed third parties,—for example, the Greenbackers, the Populists, the "Silver" Demo-

crats,—how the city workers organized Labor parties and Socialist parties but had too few members to elect their candidates.

The common people made gains, however, in their attempt to make their civil and political liberties more secure. They passed laws controlling the corporations. They broke down the spoils system of filling government offices, and they developed more direct means of electing candidates to office.

I. SUMMING UP THE GAINS IN POLITICAL LIBERTY

What is the result of the 300 years of struggle for political liberty in America? Summed up concisely, the chief results are as follows :

Every American-born person becomes entitled to a vote in the government when he reaches the age of 21. The foreign-born have the privilege of becoming citizens after living in the United States five years. All literate adult citizens of the United States (with the exception of a small group of criminals and mentally deficient persons) are allowed to vote and to hold office.

It is true that there are age restrictions for certain offices but this is an attempt to secure competency ; it is not an abridgment of liberty. For example, a senator of the United States must be at least 30 years of age, and a president of the United States at least 35.

There are other restrictions for certain other offices, such as the length of residence in one place and the length of time that a man has been a citizen, but the fight for political liberty has been largely won.

Note the gains that have been made :

First, political liberty and religion. In colonial times only members of recognized churches could vote and hold office. Now there are no religious qualifications.¹

Second, political liberty and property. For more than 200 years after the founding of the colonies only persons owning a stated amount of property could vote and hold office. Now there are no such bars.

Third, political liberty with respect to sex. Formerly only men had the right of suffrage. Now women as well as men can vote.

Fourth, political liberty with respect to color. Formerly only members of the white race could vote. Now color is no *legal* bar to suffrage.

¹ See Article VI of the Constitution.

There still remain limitations on citizenship, but the experience of 300 years has made these seem wise. For example, the foreign-born lack political liberty until they become citizens, and children and youth are barred from citizenship until they attain the age of 21. The feeble-minded and the insane and those who are unable to read English, the official language of the United States, are also barred; and, finally, those who commit certain serious crimes lose citizenship.

So much for the gains in political liberty achieved throughout American history. Viewed in the perspective of the long time man has been upon earth these gains represent, indeed, a striking achievement. At the most they are the result of less than 1000 years of struggle, perhaps less than 500. Most of the gains have come since the rise of universal education, the development of reading ability, and the increase of the standard of living through industrialization. It cannot be doubted that the spread of the scientific way of thinking and living brought about by the Industrial Revolution and the spread of education have been among the chief causes of the increase of political liberty in the United States, as well as in the countries of the Western world.

II. SUMMING UP THE GAINS IN CIVIL LIBERTY. THE AMERICAN PLAN GUARANTEES INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS IN WRITTEN CONSTITUTIONS

Have the gains in civil liberty kept pace with those made in political liberty? So far as written guaranties are concerned, striking achievements in our experiment in democracy have been made. The rights of the individual have been stated in written constitutions. To put definitely in writing that particular rights — such as freedom of speech, press, and assembly — are to be respected represents a great advance over the conditions of a few hundred years ago.

In this connection we should note that some of the civil rights of the individual citizen are protected by the Federal Constitution and some by the constitution of the state in which he lives.¹

¹ At this point see a copy of any American history textbook for the Bill of Rights incorporated in the first ten amendments to the Federal Constitution.

The Federal Constitution guarantees that no *Federal* laws shall be passed to restrict such liberties as we have been discussing — free speech, free press, and the right of assembly.

Aside from this provision, however, the United States Constitution does not *protect* the civil rights of American citizens. This task is left to the respective states. Hence the civil rights of our citizens are governed essentially by the state constitutions and laws. Although there are differences among state constitutions, they agree in general in guaranteeing the basic rights which we are discussing in this chapter. This much has been achieved by the struggle for civil and political liberty.

For example, freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of petition, and of worship, and the right of fair trial are guaranteed in most of these *state* constitutions. These provide that citizens may write and speak what they honestly believe, may gather in public or private buildings, streets, squares, and other open places.

Of course, these guaranties do not give the individual the right to violate other laws which have been made in defense of all the people. For example, if the holding of public meetings in streets and squares can be proved to interfere with public security or peace, then state laws and municipal ordinances hold those who organize such meetings responsible. Similarly, the right of free speech does not protect a person who illegally libels or slanders another person. State law gives the slandered person the right to recover damages. Aside from such limitations, the constitutions of the various states protect our citizens in these fundamental rights.

To sum up, then, we can say that this much has been accomplished in the protection of civil liberty in America: the fundamental rights of men have been publicly acknowledged and subscribed to in the constitutions of the states and in the Constitution of the nation.

AN IMPORTANT QUESTION: DOES THE GUARANTY OF RIGHTS IN CONSTITUTIONS REALLY PROTECT THE INDIVIDUAL?

The rights of the people can be really protected, however, only under one condition; namely, *that the officials elected by the people live up to their pledges to govern in accordance with the con-*

stitutions and the laws. This is a most important qualification. Liberty can be no more secure than the standards of those who govern us permit it to be. This has been true throughout all history and, so far as can now be seen, will be true in all history to come.

It is inevitable, of course, that some officials will be more honest than others; some will be more intelligent than others;

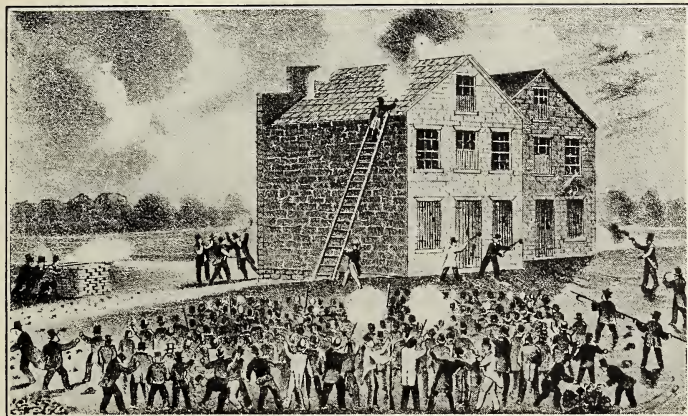


FIG. 167. An example of the violation of civil rights. In Illinois, on the day that Lovejoy was killed, a mob set fire to the warehouse of a private citizen. (From *The Martyrdom of Lovejoy*)

some will be more courageous than others; some will be more loyal to the Constitution and to their pledges. It must be granted, then, that policemen, district attorneys, judges, and legislators will, from time to time, violate the spirit as well as the letter of the fundamental laws.

American history has already furnished many examples. The Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, by which honest, independent-minded citizens were imprisoned and fined, were in direct violation of the Constitution. During the slavery crusade many men and women were denied their constitutional rights of free speech and free assembly. Others were not afforded the protection which the Constitution promises. For example, William Lloyd Garrison was attacked in Boston and Elijah Lovejoy was mur-

dered in Illinois. This same suppression of civil liberty occurred in Kansas and Nebraska in the struggle between the abolition and the slavery forces for the control of that territory. It has occurred repeatedly in labor controversies that strikers have been imprisoned, fined, driven away from their homes, in spite of their constitutional guaranties of freedom of press, assembly, and speech. We see, therefore, that rights guaranteed by laws have not always been protected.

**In times of war constitutional guaranties of civil liberty
are declared of no effect**

Look back over America's political history again and note how frequently the "reigns of terror," rules of intolerance, and periods of violence to individuals occur in and around a time of war. For example, recall the violence of the Sons of Liberty in the 1760's and 1770's against the Tory Americans who defended the British laws. Mobs drove thousands of Tories from their homes, from their communities, and finally out of the country into Canada. Those Tories who remained were deprived of their vote and of the right to hold office. They were not allowed to carry on their regular occupations. Teachers, professors, even lawyers had to secure certificates proving their loyalty to the American cause. Professor Van Tyne, an outstanding authority on the American Revolution, said of the condition at the beginning of the Revolution:

The freedom of speech was suppressed, the liberty of the press destroyed, the voice of truth silenced, and throughout the Colonies there was established a lawless power . . . Eight of the thirteen States formally banished certain prominent Tories.¹

Even Quakers, who had religious views against war, were mobbed, forcibly conscripted, or arrested because they would not take up arms.

Immediately after the war, the task of getting the Constitution ratified in the various states was marked by the same spirit of intolerance and suppression of civil rights. For example, lawless

¹ Charles H. Van Tyne's *Royalists in the American Revolution*, p. 66. By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers, New York, 1902.

mobs compelled legislators in Pennsylvania to ratify the Constitution. Other mobs in New York City destroyed the printing office of Greenleaf's *Political Register*, which had published items criticizing those who were defending the new Constitution.

One of the most striking examples of the suppression of civil liberty was that which occurred during the Civil War. With the coming of war the Federal Congress and even President Lincoln felt that the seriousness of conditions demanded that the United States Constitution be set aside. Such acts are, of course, in violation of the Constitution itself, for the latter makes no provision for its entire suspension in any emergency — no matter how serious. Nevertheless, Congress and the President took upon themselves the power to do that very thing.

At the outbreak of the war, President Lincoln authorized Northern generals to substitute military law for civil law, suspending the privilege of habeas corpus¹ whenever necessary. Although Lincoln himself restored this fundamental right at the earliest possible moment, he again suspended it, in 1862, because "disloyal persons are not adequately restrained by the ordinary processes of law." Similarly thousands of people were jailed as "political prisoners." "Political prisoners" are not criminals. They have not violated the laws of the nation or the states. They have not committed felonies or misdemeanors. But they have refused the obedience needed from all the people in time of great national danger. To imprison such persons is to violate their constitutional *civil* rights. Officials maintain that this is justified by the danger which the country confronts if these opponents of the government are allowed their freedom.

During the Civil War, freedom of speech, of assembly, and of the press were also frequently suppressed. Peace meetings were broken up and leaders were imprisoned. Laws were passed against sedition. An intolerant spirit developed even in the colleges and universities. Freedom of expression in the churches was curtailed. Mobs attacked Northern newspaper offices for friendliness toward the Southern cause or even for advocating peace. Grand juries denounced newspapers and urged citizens not to

¹ A legal authorization to inquire into the lawfulness of imprisoning or detaining a person in any manner.

patronize them. The United States Postmaster-General denied various Democratic newspapers the right to use the mails. Editors were imprisoned, and in some cases newspapers were suppressed by military orders.

The third example of the manner in which a national calamity brings about a denial of the civil rights acknowledged by the Constitution occurred in the World War. The first step came at the very outbreak of the war. The government had to have millions of troops. The number that could be secured by voluntary enlistment was insufficient. So the government did what the European governments had done earlier — conscripted the able-bodied youth of the nation. On May 18, 1917, it passed the Selective Service Act. Practically all citizens who were thus called to the colors responded. A few thousand men, however, refused to serve in the army, saying that they had "conscientious objections." Many of these "conscientious objectors" were members of churches such as the Society of Friends, the principles of which obligated them to refuse to take part in warfare. The beliefs of these persons were respected. In addition to these, many others, not members of such religious groups, while believing in the orderly processes of government, opposed the war and refused to serve. Thousands of these persons were arrested, and tried by military courts. Of these 450 were sentenced to prison during the years 1917 and 1918. Life sentences were given to 142, and the others received sentences ranging from a few years to 30 years. During the war these men were kept in prison. At the close of the war they were gradually released. Some, however, were denied their liberty until 1923, nearly six years after the entrance of the United States into the war.

In that great world crisis our government, following the example of the European governments already engaged in the struggle, also suppressed the rights of free speech and free press. The Espionage Act was adopted on June 15, 1917. It provided that

(1) Whoever, when the United States is at war, shall wilfully make or convey false reports or false statements with intent to interfere with the operation or success of the military or naval forces of the United States or to promote the cause of its enemies, and (2) whoever . . . shall wilfully cause or attempt to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny,

or refusal of duty, in the military or naval forces of the United States, or (3) shall wilfully obstruct the recruiting or enlistment services of the United States . . . shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$10,000 or imprisonment for not more than twenty years, or both.

Under the emergency of the World War, private organizations, working with and authorized by the Federal Department of Justice, examined the personal and business correspondence of thousands of men and otherwise investigated the affairs of many private citizens. Such acts are, of course, specifically prohibited by the constitutions of the states. Many persons who criticized the government for allying itself with Great Britain, France, and Russia and for the manner in which it was conducting the war were sentenced to prison.

Thus from the history of three great wars in which the United States has taken part—the Revolution, the Civil War, the World War—we have illustrated the fact that military laws often take the place of civil laws; that is, civil rights are suspended whenever they appear to create a danger to the nation.

We can see that during times of war the security of the nation as a whole is always regarded as supreme over the civil rights of the individuals. Few students of democracy would give such power to the government in times of peace, however. The defenders of individual liberty maintain that then the constitutional rights of individual citizens must be absolutely guaranteed. Throughout American history, leaders have defended



FIG. 168. This cartoon tells you what some of the people feared would happen during the World War. What does the drawing mean to you? (Courtesy of the Central Press Association)

this idea. The right of free speech, free press, or free assembly can be restricted by the government only when "clear and present danger" to the security of the people is threatened. This is the view of the United States Supreme Court today, as expressed in a recent decision by Associate Justice Holmes. More than 100 years ago Thomas Jefferson said the same thing: "It is time enough for the rightful purposes of civil government for its officers to interfere when principles break out into overt acts against peace and good order."

Throughout the history of our country, leaders have insisted that the right to criticize the government and to suggest new kinds of government is one of the most precious of all rights and must not be violated. Nevertheless, even in times of peace, especially in the excitement following wars, governing officials have suppressed the fundamental civil and political rights of citizens. That was particularly true in the fifteen years following the Civil War, as you learned in your study of the difficult reconstruction period in the South. That period was one of deep emotional excitement. The nation had just gone through a terrible civil war. Millions of people, both in the North and in the South, had been worked up into a frenzy of hate. Under such conditions it is exceedingly difficult for officials to settle differences without bias and prejudice. Almost inevitably, it seems, those in power tend to oppress those whom they believe to be their enemies.

This fact was strikingly illustrated by the events after the close of the World War, 1918-1920. As you have just learned, hundreds of people were imprisoned during the war for refusing to take part in it or for criticizing the government. It is the general custom among nations to release political prisoners at the close of a war. In the World War, actual hostilities ceased on November 11, 1918. By that time political prisoners in Germany had already been freed. On November 19, 1918, Italy freed her prisoners, and during the following year France did likewise. This course was not followed in the United States. The Senate had refused to ratify the Treaty of Versailles and hence we were technically still at war with Germany.

In the months following the signing of the armistice, American

soldiers were steadily withdrawn from Europe. It was evident, therefore, that peace-time conditions had actually been restored.

For several years, however, branches of the national government continued to restrict the civil liberties of citizens. Several publications were denied the privilege of the United States mails, and the offices of newspapers which criticized the government were raided and closed. Several thousand persons suspected of disloyalty to the government were arrested, and more than 500 were deported — that is, forcibly sent away from the United States. The Federal Assistant Secretary of Labor himself said at that time that much of this deporting of foreign-born people was unjustified. One fact is clear, however: it was done under the emotional excitement of the years immediately following the great World War.

The civil rights of individual citizens were also violated by various *state* officials in these post-war years. One instance which aroused the protest of prominent American leaders occurred in the state of New York. In January, 1920, more than a year after the end of the war, the New York legislature refused to admit to its own membership five persons who had been elected in New York City. These five assemblymen were members of the Socialist party, but they had been legally elected by a constituency numbering 60,000 American citizens. The act of the legislature in refusing to seat them amounted to a denial of the right of these 60,000 American citizens to vote. This was so clearly a violation of the constitutional rights of these New York citizens that the Supreme Court Justice Charles Evans Hughes, a committee of the New York bar association, and other prominent leaders protested vigorously.

In other states similar instances occurred during the years immediately following the close of the World War. The influence of the unreasoning emotion that controlled nations during the war, therefore, held over for a number of years after the signing of the armistice. One noted student of American history has made careful studies of these waves of prejudice that sweep over nations in war times. He has estimated that this influence lasts from ten to fifteen years after the close of a war. He and other students have pointed out that as the years pass, however, and

war hatreds decline in violence, people gradually tend to forget the earlier bitternesses. Ways of living together peaceably are slowly restored; democratic government comes steadily back to normal conditions, and the fundamental civil and political liberties are protected.

From this very brief history of liberty in our country we now see that although civil and political liberty has often been denied the American people in times of war, the United States has slowly but steadily moved forward toward civil and political liberty for the common man in times of peace.

We are now in a position to raise a most important question: What does "liberty" really mean in our complicated modern democracy?

Even under the best form of government yet devised can anyone be *really* free? Does "liberty" mean freedom to do as you please? Does freedom of speech mean that you can say what you like about anyone? No, indeed; for if you injure a person by saying untrue things about him, he can sue you and collect damages. Does freedom of movement (personal liberty) mean that you can drive an automobile fast through a crowded city street? No, for you thereby injure others, and the law does not permit that. Does freedom of assembly mean that you and your friends can hold a meeting on a busy thoroughfare? No, for you thereby interfere with other people, and the law does not allow you to do that.

In a crowded theater one cannot be permitted suddenly to jump up and shout "Fire!" for that might cause a stampede of hundreds of people, with the injury and probable death of many. In a crowded community one cannot be permitted to shoot firearms, to make loud noises, to create unhealthful or unpleasant odors, for that would disturb the peace of other people.

What, then, does it mean to be "free" in our modern complicated world?

If you stop to consider this question for a moment, you will see that it has two sides. On the one side are the *rights* of the individual; on the other side the *obligations* of the individual. On the one hand is the "unalienable" *right* of each individual to

"life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." The civil and political rights comprised in this phrase are those discussed earlier in this chapter. On the other hand is the *obligation* of each individual not to interfere with the same rights of others, that is, with *their* right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

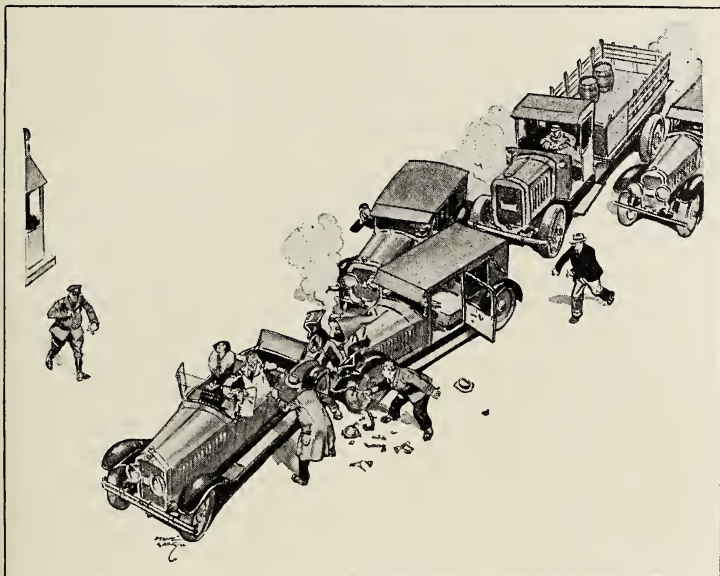


FIG. 169. The first automobile is driven by a person who drives so badly that he delays others and endangers their safety. What are his rights? his obligations? (By Tony Sarg. Reprinted by special permission from the *Saturday Evening Post*. Copyright, 1930, by the Curtis Publishing Company)

As an example, liberty in our American democracy guarantees the individual citizen freedom of speech, press, and the like. It also demands from him the *obligation* to allow others to use the same right! Similarly the citizen has the *right* to vote, but he has also the *obligation* of securing and weighing the necessary facts in order to vote intelligently. That is, he has the obligation of using his vote for the good of the great mass of the people. We see, therefore, that our liberties carry obligations with them. We can be free only by protecting other people.

**In a democracy freedom implies that each citizen shall help
decide questions for the good of the greatest number**

Under an autocratic government — for example, a dictatorship like that of Italy or Russia — a few rulers decide questions for the people. The king or emperor or dictator and his officials make the laws, levy taxes, and issue decrees. Throughout thousands of years most governments were carried on that way. In a true democracy, however, all the grown-up people help to carry on the government either directly or through the representatives whom they elect.

To do this each person must know certain important facts and must use them intelligently. Thus he has the *right* to all the necessary facts but also the *obligation* to think clearly about them in deciding public questions.

Let us suppose that a community needs a large addition to its water supply — a dam and a new pipe system. In order to finance these, either a bond issue must be sold or greater taxes must be levied upon the people. Who is to decide in which way it is to be done? Under our present form of democratic government, the voters themselves must make the decision. Each voter going to the polls at the annual election is asked to mark his ballot "Yes" or "No" to the question Shall the city issue bonds for a certain amount to pay for an addition to the water-supply system?

To mark the ballot intelligently each citizen must have the facts upon which to make his decision. He must know, for example, whether the city needs the addition to the system, how much water is now being provided by the existing system, how much is needed for the city to be secure, and the like. It is absolutely necessary, therefore, that the city officials give such facts to each citizen, through the newspapers, the radio, printed bulletins, public meetings, and in other ways. It is also imperative for each citizen to try to decide what he wants the city to do. Although citizens *now* are asked to decide such questions, it is quite possible that they should really be decided by experts in the city government—the engineers, the city manager, and their financial advisers."

AN IMPORTANT TEST OF A FREE DEMOCRACY: HAVE THE CITIZENS THE FACTS NECESSARY TO DECIDE PUBLIC QUESTIONS?

From our studies thus far we have learned that in this vast and complicated civilization the individual American can no longer depend upon getting the necessary facts directly. He can no longer get his facts of government at town meetings, for example. He gets them from private conversations with relatives, neighbors, or friends, from newspapers, magazines, and books, from the newsreels of the "movies," from the radio, and from public meetings. That is, he gets them in roundabout ways.

Now there are two difficulties which the citizen confronts in any effort he may make to get the facts necessary to help him decide public questions. The first is difficulty in getting *all* the facts. The second is difficulty in getting approximately *true* facts. Because his facts come to him from so many sources and in such a roundabout way these difficulties are very great indeed.

The first difficulty is largely due to censorship. Someone may *censor* the facts. Properly speaking, a censorship can only be set up by law and then only with a view to withholding objectionable things from public presentation. But when a certain man or group of men is in control of a source of information, such as a newspaper, and uses that control to suppress facts, we have a censorship which may make it impossible for a citizen to have an intelligent opinion about public questions.

The second difficulty — that is difficulty in getting true facts — is largely due to *propaganda*. Persons in control of information may, for reasons of their own, give the citizen false or misleading statements as if they were true facts. Such persons spread propaganda and lead the citizen to believe and act upon statements which are not true. In a sense, censorship such as we have described in the last paragraph is a kind of propaganda and propaganda is a kind of censorship. Can you see how this is true?

The problems of censorship and propaganda are very difficult and complicated. Only a brief introduction to them can be given here. It is important, however, to introduce them in order that you may see that the problems exist and may be better prepared to study them carefully in your later work.

In the conflict among groups it is difficult for
the citizen to get all the facts

Throughout our studies we have seen many examples which illustrate that in a democracy government is carried on through *groups*. We saw, for example, throughout American history, that the people were divided into various political groups; that is, such political parties as Whigs, Republicans, Democrats, Socialists, and Populists. Similarly we saw that the people were divided into various economic groups, and that these struggled with one another to secure fair representation in the government. Labor unions, farmers' organizations, corporation owners and managers, business men big and little — all desired to have their views represented in Congress, in state legislatures, and in municipal governments. Similarly social groups have played an important part in the history of government — patriotic societies have demanded legislation, and religious groups have tried to express their will through government. So also in this present volume we found that municipal government itself is carried on largely by the attempts of many groups in the community to elect their representatives to the city government and to secure favorable legislation from them.

Thus we see that in the American experiment in representative democracy, government is carried on through the influence of various groups. Some of these groups are better organized, have more wealth and influence in the community and the nation, than others. We have seen that it is easier, therefore, for these more powerful groups to control legislators and officials than it is for the smaller, less organized, and weaker ones.

Now this all bears directly upon the problems of censorship and propaganda. We can see that the more powerful groups will have the greater control over the knowledge of facts. They will almost surely censor the facts — give out to the citizens only those they wish to have known. They will naturally tend to color them in ways favorable to themselves. Thus the facts given in newspapers, magazines, newsreels of the "movies," over the radio, in advertising, and from the platform tend to favor the groups which exercise the greatest control.

We have already seen examples in the discussion of how public opinion is formed. We saw that newspaper and magazine corporations depend more upon advertisers for their income than they do upon the revenue which they get from the sale of their publications. Hence the advertiser necessarily exercises a larger control over the facts given in the publication than does the average reader.

We saw that those who control newspapers and magazines hold their own personal views about problems of politics, industry, agriculture, and social life. Naturally, such persons tend to favor these views in news reports and editorials. A periodical published by labor groups will tend to favor labor in its treatment of industrial and political problems. On the other hand, newspapers and magazines controlled by large owners of capital will naturally favor the side of the owners in discussing such problems. Similarly Socialist papers will favor the Socialist side of any issue.

So strong are people's personal beliefs and opinions that it is difficult, indeed, for a periodical to be absolutely impartial. Thus, in spite of the intent of the editor and owner to be fair, the facts that we get from newspapers and magazines are almost sure to be partly colored by the preferences of the owners.

The difficulty of getting all the necessary facts and approximately true facts about public questions to the people has also been illustrated by the influence on public opinion of groups like the home, the neighborhood, and social organizations. We have learned in earlier chapters that a person is more likely to take his opinions from his home, his clubs, and the other groups to which he belongs than from opposing groups.

It is clear, therefore, that in a vast, complicated democracy like the United States the problem of getting the facts to the people is a difficult one. Nevertheless, it is one which we as American citizens must study and try to solve. At least two conclusions of great importance can be drawn from our brief study: first, in order to make government democratic and to guarantee civil and political liberty, the people as a whole must have access to all the necessary facts upon which public questions are decided; second, to bring the essential facts before the people

impartially and completely is a task beset by great difficulties. These difficulties are caused in part by the vastness of our land, by the impersonal conditions of city life, and by the increasing interest of the private citizen in his own personal affairs. They are also caused by the very complexity of the machinery through which the facts are spread throughout the nation — the mails, newspapers, magazines, and books, the radio, the public platform, the "movies," the theater, schools and colleges, and so on.

SUMMING UP: IMPORTANT QUESTIONS CONCERNING CIVIL AND POLITICAL LIBERTY

We have barely outlined the problems of censorship and propaganda in our representative democracy. In summing up, however, let us ask ourselves some important questions. These must be answered carefully if America is to march steadily on toward a more perfect democracy, if the mass of Americans are really to become more and more free, if civil and political liberty is to be adequately protected.

First, how can such civil rights as free speech, a free press, free assembly, and fair trial as guaranteed in our constitutions be protected by officials?

Second, is it important that all sides of every public question be given to the mass of Americans through newspapers, magazines, radio talks, or public lectures? Should there be available to every citizen newspapers, magazines, and other agencies of discussion which present the views of all the chief groups in America? Should there be free criticism and discussion of existing forms of government as well as defenses of it?

Third, should public buildings, auditoriums, and other meeting places be opened to American citizens for the purposes of free and honest discussion, regardless of their views on economic, political, or social matters?

Fourth, should all citizens have an equal opportunity to speak over the radio, regardless of their political, economic, or social beliefs?

Fifth, how can each citizen get all the necessary facts to help decide public questions intelligently?

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET
ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

- BROWN, KATHARINE HOLLAND. *The Father*. The John Day Company, New York. The abolitionist agitation before and during the Civil War, and the struggles of an abolitionist editor in Illinois.
- DIX, B. M. *The Making of Christopher Ferringham*. The Macmillan Company, New York. A vivid picture of Quaker persecutions.
- FORMAN, S. E. *The American Democracy*. The Century Co., New York. See Chapter XI, "Civil Liberty," and Chapter XIV, "The Meaning of Life brought by Liberty."
- GRAVES, W. BROOKE. *Readings in Public Opinion*. D. Appleton and Company, New York. See Chapter XXVII, "Freedom of Speech"; Chapter XXXI, "Censorship and Public Opinion"; and Chapter XXXIII, "Public Opinion in War Time."
- HALL, RUTH. *The Golden Arrow*. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. The story of Roger Williams.
- HILL, MABEL. *Liberty Documents*. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. Evolution of constitutional government from Henry I to the present.
- SHAW, A. H. *The Story of a Pioneer*. Harper & Brothers, New York. The feminist movement in the United States.
- STRACHEY, RACHEL COSTELLOE. *Marching On*. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York. The story of John Brown and Harpers Ferry.
- SUBLETTE, C. M. *The Bright Face of Danger*. Little, Brown and Company, Boston. Bacon's Rebellion.
- SWIFT, LUCIUS B. *How we got our Liberties*. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis.
- TUFTS, JAMES H. *The Real Business of Living*. Henry Holt and Company, New York. See Chapters XI-XIII, XXXIII-XXXV.
- VAN LOON, HENDRIK. *The Story of Mankind*. Horace Liveright, New York.

UNIT VII

OTHER ASPECTS OF OUR CHANGING
AMERICAN CULTURE

OTHER ASPECTS OF OUR CHANGING CULTURE

Four important phases of American life remain to be studied. The first comprises the difficult problems of buying that have been brought about by the development of advertising. These are considered in Chapter XIX. We shall study how advertising grew up in America and the vast part that it now plays in determining our wants, what we buy, the increased cost of living, and the tendency to live on the future. We shall also ask, Can the consumer be educated to buy scientifically?

In Chapter XX we shall investigate the changing customs, standards, and recreations of the mass of the people. We shall ask such questions as In what are they really most interested? What do they do with their leisure time? What do they value most highly? What, in short, are the interests and the standards of the common man?

In Chapter XXI we shall consider some questions concerning a change in culture which is being brought about by the more talented people of America. Our study will include the rise of the fine arts — literature, music, painting, sculpture, the drama, and architecture — the beginnings of fine artistic development in America.

Finally, in Chapter XXII, we shall round out our studies of American culture by considering two important questions of assimilation of the races and nationalities which compose our population: How can we teach immigrants the fine things of American life? How can we learn from immigrants the fine things in their native cultures?

CHAPTER XIX

ADVERTISING AND THE CONSUMER

A significant contrast

Two men were discussing the merits of a nationally advertised brand of oil.

"I know it must be good," said one. "A million dollars' worth of it is sold every year. You see advertisements of that oil *everywhere*."

The other shook his head. "I don't care how much of it is sold," he said. "I left a drop of it on a copper plate overnight and the drop turned green. It is corrosive and I don't dare to use it on my machine."¹

This little episode tells us something important about the way people decide what to buy in America. First, note that one man's attitude toward machine oil is based upon mere opinion or guess; the other man's attitude is based much more upon observed fact. Second, note that the first man holds the point of view that if the crowd buys the oil, it must have merit; if it is well advertised it must be good. The other man's point of view is much more *scientific*. He experimented with a little of the oil before buying it for use on his machines. He was not swayed by the popularity of the oil, by the fact that a million dollars' worth of it is sold every year. His mind was an open one; that is, he was ready to consider using the oil. But his mind was also a critical one. It demanded *tests*. He couldn't be swayed merely by advertising on the billboards and in magazines or even by the volume of sales. He was a *scientific* buyer.

Now, this episode really illustrates the ways in which people buy goods in America. Some buy because their neighbors do,

¹ Adapted from Stuart Chase and F. J. Schlink's *Your Money's Worth* (by permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers, New York, 1927), p. 258.

because advertising convinces them. Others buy because they *know* the merits of the things which are offered for sale. It is doubtful if there are more important problems before Americans than those of buying. In this chapter let us try to see what these problems are.

We are all consumers

In your newspapers and magazines you will constantly hear the word *consumer*. Who is a consumer? Well, *you* are one because you eat food and wear clothes and live in a house and travel



FIG. 170. The ultimate consumer and some of the hands through which his money passes. (Adapted from a cartoon in the *Washington Post*)

on trains and use the telephone. You are what is called an "ultimate consumer." You and your family, the families in your neighborhood and community, and those in a million neighborhoods make up the *ultimate* consumers of America.

But there are consumers other than the ultimate ones. There are "intermediate" consumers. Manufacturers, from one point of view, are consumers of this kind. Manufacturers of cotton cloth, for example, consume raw cotton, dye stuffs, power, light, and other materials and services used in spinning

yarn, in weaving and in finishing cloth. The makers of garments are consumers of cloth, thread, implements and tools, electric light and heat, transportation, and other kinds of service and materials. The makers of steel are consumers of iron, coal, manganese, chromium, tin, nickel, and the like. They likewise consume water in the boilers of their engines, electricity, and quantities of human labor. Thus hundreds of thousands of manufacturers are *intermediate* consumers. But in addition to being

consumers of the materials they use in manufacturing, they are also *ultimate* consumers, like yourself and your relatives.

We see, therefore, that all of us are consumers in one or more ways: consumers of raw materials or of finished goods; consumers of natural resources or of human services; consumers of necessities, comforts, and luxuries.

**Does our attitude toward advertising influence what
we consume?**

Few of us consumers produce the things we use. We buy them from someone else. How do we choose what we buy? Do we choose a particular thing because an advertisement assures us that a million dollars' worth of it is sold yearly or because we have investigated its merits? Ask yourself what it is that leads you to buy one brand of product in place of another.

When you buy toilet soap do you buy a certain brand because you hope to preserve "that schoolgirl complexion"? because it will give you the kind of skin "you love to touch"?

And what about tooth paste? Does the connection with "Amos 'n' Andy" lead you to ask for a special brand or do the troubadours on the radio make you think of another kind? If you buy soap or tooth paste for any of these reasons you are doing just what millions of other people are doing.

Coffee may be bought because it is "good to the last drop." Certain cigarettes may be chosen because it is said that some people would "walk a mile" for them or because they "satisfy" or are as "mild as May."

**The important place of advertising in our
complex civilization**

As we turn the pages of a weekly magazine, ride in the subway or street car, or listen in on the radio, we are constantly attacked by slogans, by sensational pictures and catchwords.

Superlatives too attack us. Every automobile we hear of is the "best" car ever made for the money; it "makes more miles to the gallon" and is "easier" on tires than all its competitors. We are promised that each type of electric refrigerator will

consume less current than any other kind. Every brand of paint "withstands the weather better" than every other one. Thus the buyer is attacked by a constant broadside of superlatives of "best," "cheapest," "most beautiful," upon his ears and eyes. He asks, "Is there anything that is *really* best at all?"



FIG. 171. The cartoonist entitled this drawing, "When a feller needs a friend." What did he mean by this title? (By Briggs. Courtesy of the *New York Herald-Tribune*)

And so we see that we live in a bewildering world of slogans, catch-words, and superlatives, all appealing to us, coaxing us, threatening us, all calculated to make us buy.

One big advertising agency announces that as its chief task, saying, "We who have to bring in business, must get out before the beloved customer and shout, search, halloo, promise, concede, coax, be funny, coo, thump, seek, knock, punch, and *get the order*."¹

As a result of nationwide campaigns of advertising the consumer is constantly being persuaded to "Buy, buy, buy!" In every community day in and day out people are buying—buying things for the house, things to eat, things to read, things to wear; buying transportation and communication; buying necessities, comforts, luxuries—always buying. And in this process of buying, advertising plays a very important rôle. Let us study this rôle, first by scanning briefly the history of advertising in America.

¹ Quoted in Stuart Chase and F. J. Schlink's *Your Money's Worth* (by permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers, New York, 1927), p. 9.

HOW ADVERTISING GREW UP IN AMERICA

Advertising is far older than our own country. It is older, indeed, than the invention of paper or of writing. Before the days of widespread written communication, "criers" advertised the wares of dealers through the towns of the ancient world. When the crudest forms of writing had been worked out, advertisements on wood boards or papyri told of rewards offered for runaway slaves.

With the invention of printing, however, advertising of various kinds came into more frequent use throughout Europe. During the 1600's the English *Mercuries* — weekly papers — carried advertisements, for example, of coffee, chocolate, and tea. By 1666 the *London Gazette* was issuing a separate advertising supplement.

It is not surprising to find, therefore, that the first issue of the first American newspaper, the *Boston News-Letter* (April 26, 1704), contained some advertising. It was a small amount, of course, occupying a minor place in the little paper. As the years passed, advertising developed slowly. But by 1750 advertisements appeared announcing articles lost, found, or for sale; books published; "strange beasts," such as elephants and tigers, offered for display to the public at "2 shillings." One modest announcement stated that a certain dealer "not only continueth to entertain *Gentlemen* and *Ladies* in the most agreeable manner, but hath for sale a good assortment of English and West India goods."¹ Items like these made up most of the advertising in the newspapers of that day. Commercial advertisements were dignified invitations to the public to consider the merits of offerings. This was the condition, indeed, throughout the 1700's. Only gradually did dealers take up the newspaper as a means of telling about their wares.

After 1800 came the more rapid establishment of newspapers and magazines. At the beginning of the Civil War, in 1861, there were slightly more than 5000 magazines, newspapers, and other periodicals in the United States. It was in this period of the 1860's and 1870's that magazine advertising began to grow.

¹ Quoted in *Harper's Literary Museum* (Harper & Brothers, New York), p. 384, from the *Salem Gazette*, December 24-31, 1771.

The first advertising in *Harper's Magazine* appeared in 1864, but even before that the demand for advertising space was so great that *Harper's Weekly* charged \$45 an inch for its last outside page.

The growth in advertising started a new
kind of business

By 1840 a new kind of business had sprung up; namely, the selling of advertising by regular advertising companies, or agencies. The advertising agency bought space in magazines and newspapers and then sold it to manufacturers and dealers wanting to advertise their goods. The first agency was established in Philadelphia in 1840. Other pioneer agencies followed, but the new business developed slowly until after the Civil War. Then, after 1870, the advertising agencies spread far more rapidly.

The use of these advertising agencies changed ways of buying and selling. The agencies did not wait for manufacturers and shopkeepers to request space of them. Having already bought the space they *had to sell it* to make a living. So their salesmen were sent out with instructions to *sell* the space — and sell it they did. Manufacturers and dealers who never before had spent money on advertising bought increasing amounts of space. And advertising grew by leaps and bounds. As that happened, the American people were steadily *persuaded to buy more things*.

Then the advertising agencies began to take on other kinds of work which had formerly been done by shopkeepers and manufacturers, that is, the planning of advertisements. They hired artists to letter advertisements and draw up attractive designs. They also prepared directories of the newspapers and magazines in the United States so that the larger companies might advertise their products all over the United States.

Advertising agencies grew so rapidly that advertising clubs (clubs of men who specialized in the business of advertising) sprang up in various communities of the United States. Year after year more were established, and in 1906 a national meeting of the members of these clubs was held. By 1928 there were more than 1200 advertising agencies in the country, and already some 150 of them had organized the American Association of Advertising Agencies. But the agencies have been organized

not only in national associations; they have been organized in international associations as well. Today every large American city and many foreign cities have advertising agencies which buy space in newspapers and magazines for manufacturers and dealers, plan their advertisements, and carry on vast selling campaigns.

Many other methods of advertising have been devised besides the use of newspapers and magazines. Everywhere along the roads of the countryside near large cities posters meet the eye. Huge billboards advertise hotels in the nearest cities or tell us that Smithtown or Johnsville is an excellent place in which to live or build a factory. Trains and street cars, busses and subways, carry rows of cards advertising a bewildering array of goods. The mail brings us circulars, catalogues, and "form" letters coaxing us to buy, telling us why we can't afford to be without this or that product. The old crier is gone, but along the streets of towns and cities walks the "sandwich man," bearing great advertisements across his chest and back. The "movies" and the radio bring other advertisements within our sight and hearing.

As schools of business sprang up in the larger universities, they began to offer regular instruction in advertising. Thus it has come about that the man who can sell is more in demand and gets better pay than the inventor who can originate new ideas or plan new designs. Trained engineers can be hired today for less than \$5000 a year, but the effective salesman, the advertiser, the

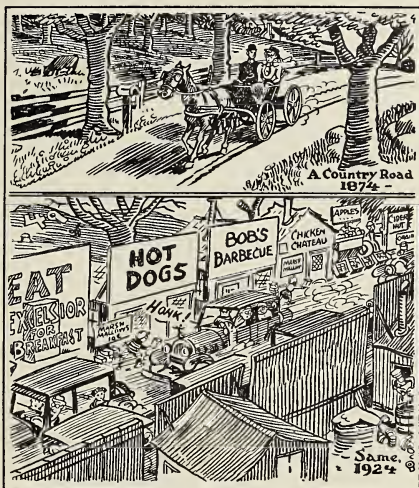


FIG. 172. A comparison in cartoon of a road in 1874 and the same road fifty years later. (Gale in the Los Angeles Times)

promoter, — in short, the man who can “sell the goods,” — can command much more, \$10,000, \$25,000, even \$50,000 and more a year.

Advertising campaigns have become gigantic and nation-wide. The same advertisement of soap or cigarettes that you see in your town probably can be seen in every city of the United States. Today, therefore, the business of telling the buying public not only *where* it can buy but *what* to buy has become one of the largest industries of our time. Francis H. Sisson, a New York banker, estimated that in 1927 American enterprises spent \$1,500,000,000 for advertising (see Table XLVIII).

TABLE XLVIII¹

| AMOUNT SPENT IN THE UNITED STATES FOR ADVERTISING IN 1927 | |
|--|-----------------|
| Newspapers . . . | \$800,000,000 |
| Magazines . . . | 200,000,000 |
| Outdoor display . . | 200,000,000 |
| Mail campaigns . . | 300,000,000 |
| Total | \$1,500,000,000 |

Thus we see that advertising has also entered the ranks of Big Business.

Paralleling the changes in the amount of advertising are those in the quality. Compare figure

173 with almost any advertisement of today and note how much the quality of advertisements has improved — how much clearer is the printing; how much more legible is the type; how much better are the illustrations. Today many advertisements carry illustrations of real beauty because artists of national fame have been engaged by advertising agencies to draw or to paint or to make woodcuts for them. At the same time that these changes have come, the cost of advertising has increased. The cost of newspaper space alone has reached figures today which would have been sufficient to buy a newspaper business 100 years ago. For example, one page in a well-known weekly costs \$8000 an issue, while the outside back cover costs \$15,000 an issue.

And *who* do you suppose really pays for the advertising? It is you and your neighbor and every other consumer. The manufacturer adds his advertising costs to the price which he charges the wholesaler; the wholesaler adds his advertising costs to the price he charges the retailer; the retailer adds his advertising costs to the price each of us pays as the ultimate consumer.

¹ These figures are taken from an article published in the *New York Times* of July 11, 1928.

Hence it cannot be denied that advertising *has* increased the cost both of selling and of buying goods.

Perhaps you may ask then, "Is advertising necessary?"

This is a very important question. We must try to see it in the light of the important changes that have come in ways of living in the last century. We must try to see how these have affected the task of buying and selling, of getting goods from producers to consumers. Let us contrast, therefore, the need of advertising in earlier times with that of today. Some of these developments you have already studied in earlier volumes of the series; others, however, are new. All of them affect the problem of advertising, and thus all of them affect every ultimate consumer.

ADVERTISING IN THE DAYS OF THE "OLD COMPETITION"

A hundred years ago the local shoemaker shod the villagers' feet, the tailor made their garments, the local blacksmith forged many of their iron utensils. Wants were few and simple. Consumers purchased more of their wares directly from craftsmen in the community. A few special articles, such as the stove illustrated in figure 173, were purchased from the larger cities or even from Europe. Thus, in these earlier days, the whole machinery of selling goods was simple and rather direct, and the consumer had intimate knowledge of most of the persons who made his goods.

The populated area of the United States was small and confined for the most part to the coastal plain east of the Appalachians. Then, as you remember, the great westward movement

FIG. 173¹

¹ From James Melvin Lee's *The History of American Journalism*. (Courtesy of Houghton Mifflin Company.)

of population began, and almost at the same time the Industrial Revolution, which brought the machine industries, also brought rapid transportation and communication. More and more goods could be shipped vast distances.

As this happened, manufacturers and consumers began to know less about each other. The buying and selling of goods became increasingly impersonal. The manufacturers and deal-



FIG. 174. Looking at a display in the window of a colonial silversmith's shop. In colonial days the consumer bought his goods of the craftsman. (Courtesy of N. W. Ayer and Son, Inc.)

ers were then forced to advertise so that people might learn of their products. The consumer needed to read advertisements so that he might know what goods were for sale. As a result all three—the manufacturers, the dealers, and the consumers—became dependent upon advertising.

At the same time many difficult problems arose. The number of machine-driven factories increased,

and the amount of goods which they produced increased faster than the growing population could consume them. The number of various brands of the same commodity likewise continued to increase. The consumer began to ask, "Of all these brands which should I buy?" The manufacturers and dealers began to ask, "Where can we sell?"

What did the manufacturers and the dealers do? They competed with one another for the consumer's dollar. They cut prices until competitors were thrown out of business. This was called the "old competition"—*every individual for himself*. "Best," "finest," "biggest," "cheapest," became more frequent in the advertisements of competing brands.

ADVERTISING AND THE "NEW COMPETITION" AMONG INDUSTRIES

Gradually, however, competition among companies within the same industry decreased as they became merged into a few vast corporations. As that took place a new condition, a new kind of competition, developed. Manufacturers and dealers in one industry found it necessary to compete with other industries rather than with members of their own industry. For example, instead of large lumber dealers competing with other lumber dealers the leading lumber dealers got together and formed a national association. The brick-manufacturers formed their own national association, the cement and stucco makers formed theirs, the stone men theirs. These national associations competed with rival associations for the consumers' dollars. Each used expensive means of advertising, and costs rose higher and higher. The shovel-makers formed the American Shovel Institute. The belt-manufacturers organized the Men's Belt Association. The sauerkraut-packers, brickmakers, undertakers, wheel-makers, petticoat-manufacturers, and a long list of others formed national associations to advance the sale of their products and to force competing products off the market. Two students of the problem have described the development in these words:

Oil and gas and coal are fighting for the job of heating the country. Electric refrigeration and ice are fighting for the job of cooling it. . . . You are besieged, not so much by men seeking to sell the same product as by those who urge concrete against brick, asbestos against cedar shingle, metal lath against wood, wallboard against plaster, linoleum against oak.¹

The carpet-tack industry grapples with the oriental rug industry, because nobody who uses oriental rugs needs carpet tacks. The oriental rug interests ally themselves with their old-time enemy the domestic rug makers, to attack the Brussels carpet people. Whereupon Brussels carpets appeal for help to carpet tacks, which in turn persuade linoleum to fall into line.²

¹ Merle Thorpe, "The Business Revolution of 1927-1937," *Nation's Business*, Vol. XV (1927), p. 27.

² Philip Wagner, "Cigarettes vs. Candy," *New Republic*, Vol. LVII, February 13, 1929, pp. 343-345.

And partly because of this new competition, more and more millions are spent for advertising and prices rise higher and higher. In spite of it, however, people are persuaded by the advertising to want more things and to buy more things. Thus the standard of living rises still higher, and living for many people becomes more and more extravagant.

Increased efficiency in making by-products has also
necessitated expensive selling campaigns to persuade
the American people to buy them

Recall examples from your earlier studies of the way in which inventors learned how to transform waste products into useful ingredients. Recall, for example, the vast number of by-products which are now obtained from coal — such things as illuminating gas, oils, explosives, dye stuffs, perfumes, flavorings, paints, painting materials, roofing insulation, and preservatives. Bring back to mind what comes out of a barrel of crude petroleum — not only gasoline and oil, but also paraffin wax, coke, asphalt, petroleum jelly, and a long list of other things. So well has this same thing been done in the meat-packing industry that the slogan has become "Everything saved but the squeal!"

In every other major industry, increased efficiency of production came about by the discovery of new uses for things which had formerly been thrown away. From the standpoint of the manufacturer this development of by-products meant only increased efficiency.

As we read accounts of the astonishing things that are done in our research laboratories, we glow with admiration for the ingenuity of the engineering mind. But now we see that there are other sides to this matter — the side of the consumer and the side of salesmanship. Manufacturers have to find a market for these by-products. Buyers and consumers must be created for them.

What is the position of the consumer? He can eat only a certain amount of food, wear only one suit of clothes at a time, put just so many pieces of furniture into his house; in general, he can use only a limited number of the things which are needed for cleanliness, health, and happiness. He is also limited by his

pocketbook in the amount that he can buy. On the one hand, then, we see the consumer, with a limited amount of money, a need for necessities, and a natural desire for comforts and luxuries.

On the other side, we see the manufacturers and dealers with *large amounts of goods that must be sold*. So manufacturers conduct publicity campaigns — campaigns to make their products not only known but desired. Forces of salesmen spread out over the country to “educate” and sell the goods to shopkeepers. Millions of dollars are placed in the hands of the advertising agencies to create new customers through national campaigns of advertising.

ENTER SUPERSALESMANSHIP

Thus we see the rôle played by the consumer. Remember, he cannot buy everything; he has a limited pocketbook. He must choose among dozens of brands and styles. Now enters the supersalesman to aid him; indeed, to direct his purchase.

As you know, until recent years advertisements were not prepared primarily to *persuade* the purchaser. They merely *informed* him of the wares of the dealer. Nowadays, however, the whole endeavor of the advertiser is to persuade the purchaser to buy whether he wants to or not. He makes every appeal to the consumer to buy. The new advertising is designed to create belief and conviction.

Advertising has taken on more scientific methods

Careful investigations have been made of the psychology of advertising to discover the best methods of attracting consumers. Such questions as these have been studied: How many times and at what intervals must consumers see an advertisement before it makes an impression upon their minds? What colors most quickly attract and hold their eyes? What kinds of illustrations do people like? What size of advertisement is best? What should be the spacing between the lines? What styles of type attract?

Most important of all has been the scientific study of human nature. Psychologists have made studies of people's wants, their

likes and dislikes, their fears and motives. Table XLIX, for example, shows the result of a study of the relative strength of different desires in the average American.

Psychologists have also studied why people remember the names of certain brands of goods. They find that about half the people remember the names because they have seen the goods advertised.

TABLE XLIX

| THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF TYPICAL HUMAN MOTIVES ARRANGED IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE | |
|--|----|
| Satisfying hunger . . . | 1 |
| Love of offspring . . . | 2 |
| Health | 3 |
| Sex attraction | 4 |
| Parental affection . . . | 5 |
| Ambition | 6 |
| Pleasure | 7 |
| Bodily comfort | 8 |
| Possession | 9 |
| Approval by others . . | 10 |
| Personal appearance . . | 11 |
| Safety | 12 |
| Cleanliness | 13 |
| Home comforts | 14 |
| Economy | 15 |

As a result of the studies of psychologists, great volumes, handbooks, and manuals are now available on the psychology of advertising. Here are a few illustrative titles: *Psychology in Advertising*, *The Psychology of Conviction*, *Influencing Men in Business*, *Principles of Advertising*, *The Psychology of Persuasion*.

How have the supersalesmen used these studies? They have used them to plan advertising.

For example, they carefully designed their appeals to fit the likes and dislikes of people. Note, for example, the way in which they cater to the natural tendency toward self-preservation and play upon the fear of disease and of ill health :

An important hairnet manufacturer wanted to increase the sales of his product. . . [He, therefore,] appealed to the instinct of self-preservation of large groups of the public. He talked of self-preservation with respect to hygiene for food dispensers. He talked of self-preservation with respect to safety for women who work near exposed machinery.¹

The advertisements of antiseptics, soaps, tooth pastes, utensils for the bathroom, utensils for the kitchen and the laundry, for cleaning houses, for cleaning cellars, and for keeping yards in good order appeal to the desire for cleanliness besides playing upon the fear of disease. The universal desire for shelter is also seized upon. The advertisements of radiator companies show

¹ Edward L. Bernays, *Crystallizing Public Opinion*, p. 151. Horace Liveright, New York, 1929.

lovely, comfortable home interiors; in one a family is gathered about a sizzling radiator, with the temperature outside standing at "ten degrees below" and a blinding blizzard going on.

Other advertisements appeal to parental desires. Camera advertisements, for instance, display photographs of happy young people and remind parents that their memory pictures of happy days with their children will fade, but that photographs will constantly renew the image.

Some advertisements are directed toward those who like to conform to what others are doing; others toward those who like to be different. Still others reach people who like to imitate prominent persons, such as the advertisement which reads "the cigarette Babe Ruth smokes" or the slogan of a certain perfume — "used by the crowned heads of Europe." The desire for the approval of others, the desire for success, the desire for beauty and for efficiency, the desire to be "up-to-date" — all these and many others are used to induce people to buy. Advertisements appeal to "the sensitive woman," "the intelligent man," "the discriminating person," "the liberated person." Advertised goods are shown in scenes of luxury — even linoleum is shown in the kitchen of a Fifth Avenue mansion. Almost every nationally sold product carries in its advertising an easily remembered slogan which can be read at a glance. Short, catchy words for products are coined and displayed conspicuously in the advertisement.

With such appeals new brands, new styles, new devices are quickly adopted by the public. Men who have always used the "old-fashioned" razor now use the safety razor. Women accustomed for years to use a certain brand of baking powder buy the new kind with the attractive trade name. Antiseptics, previously unknown, are made to seem indispensable to the careful housewife. The sales grow, even though prices become higher and higher.

Who can easily resist a book which is advertised to give one "a magnetic personality almost instantly" or a lotion which will "remove wrinkles overnight," or a cream which will "take away freckles" in the same length of time. One such well-known slogan has been chiefly responsible for doubling the sales of a certain commodity recently.

And so, with these constant appeals to human desires, phrased in easily remembered form, the sales mount. Supersalesmanship is steadily educating the American people to buy the brand most appealingly and most frequently advertised.

How effective is this new use of psychology in advertising? How well do people remember trade names? What names come to your mind when someone says "breakfast food?" In one study of 1000 people the most frequent ones given were Kellogg's Corn Flakes, Cream of Wheat, Grape Nuts, Post Toasties, Shredded Wheat, and Quaker Oats.

Other investigations have been made to find out which brand of various commodities is best known. Inevitably it is found that one or two of the best-advertised brands come to mind almost instantly. Here is an interesting exercise for you yourself: What brand occurs to you¹ for each of the following commodities?

| | | | |
|--------------|-------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Camera | Crackers | Baking powder | Chewing gum |
| Soup | Toothbrush | Sewing machine | Motor cycle |
| Fountain pen | Tooth paste | Collar | Rubber heels |
| Cleanser | Cocoa | Coffee substitute | Grape juice |

SUMMING UP THE ADVANTAGES OF MODERN SALESMANSHIP THROUGH ADVERTISING

We see, then, that in an industrial civilization such as ours some way of knowing who makes and who sells needed products is absolutely necessary. Without such a medium the consumer has a limited means of knowing what goods are for sale. It is true, therefore, that it is impossible to carry on our economic life today without advertising. But we must ask ourselves if all the advertising today is wise and necessary.

ADVERTISING HAS BROUGHT ABUSES

1. *The improper use of "testimonials."* How much confidence can you place today in "testimonials" — that is, published statements by prominent persons as to the use or quality of certain products?

¹ If you would like to see how your answers compare with those of approximately 1000 other people, look up A. T. Poffenberger's *Psychology in Advertising* (McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1925), p. 527.

The use of the testimonial is about a quarter of a century old. Barney Oldfield, the famous automobile racer of the early 1900's, used Goodyear tires, found them satisfactory, and said so in testimonials for which the manufacturers paid him and from which they profited by printing them in newspapers and magazines.

What Barney Oldfield says about Goodyear Detachable Tires On Universal Rims



Barney Oldfield

The Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., New York City. September 28, 1905.

Gentlemen: After many misgivings as to the practicability of the GOODYEAR NEW DETACHABLE TIRE, I finally decided upon its use in July, '05. Since that time I have driven in seventy-two heats and races on circular tracks, and have never had a tire accident or tire trouble of any description. With my *Green Dragon* I hold every world circular track record from one to fifty miles, and these records have never been in danger, nor have I been defeated in a trial heat or race since I began using GOODYEAR TIRES. Before my cars were equipped with GOODYEAR TIRES, it was a common occurrence to wear a tire through to the danger line in a five or ten mile heat. On my *Green Dragon*, at the present time are two complete tires, one front and one rear, that have been in constant use for the past fifteen months without being touched, except to inflate. My success with the GOODYEAR TIRE has been the wonder of the past season in connection with circular track racing. My touring car, which has been equipped with the same tire, has covered over six thousand miles since I began to use them, and have given perfect satisfaction.

In my estimation, there is no combination of tire and detachable rim which is so perfect and so simple. (Signed) You know me, BARNEY OLDFIELD.

The Terrific Racing Pace

the best possible for the auto race. The fact is, owing to a double track, is proven true. The GOODYEAR DETACHABLE TIRE, only tire that could make such records as Barney Oldfield talks of. If you would know why it stands such heavy tests, see Price Book "H" World Select an Auto-Tire, 25¢ A.C. in U.S.A.

Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., Erie St., Akron, Ohio

Branches: Boston 261 Dorchester St.; New York, over Sixty Fourth St. and Broadway; Chicago 525-4 Michigan Ave.; Cincinnati 45 E. Fifth St.; St. Louis 710-711 Morgan St.; Los Angeles 325 S. Main St.; San Francisco 440 E. Market St.; Portland 1000 Commercial Ave.; St. Paul 719 Main St.; Denver 1000 Broadway St.; Dallas 200 Jefferson Ave.



FIG. 175. (Courtesy of The Outlook Company)

Apparently Oldfield's testimonial, as shown in figure 175, was an honest statement of his conviction. Similarly, we are told that in 1905 some famous actors — for example, George Arliss, David Warfield, and others — used and liked a certain brand of cigarettes and indorsed them quite honestly. There have been many similar examples of honest testimonials. If this were the only kind used, our people could place confidence in them.

But as the rôle of advertising became more important in the business world, especially after 1920, unscrupulous concerns

developed the practice of paying athletes, "movie" stars, actors, society women, members of European royal houses, relatives of diplomats, and other prominent persons for their indorsements. We are informed, for example, on excellent authority that a European queen indorsed a well-known face cream for "\$2000, two silver boxes, and a miniature of herself by de Laszlo." In defending her act later she said that "it was common practice in European countries for shopkeepers to advertise that their wares were indorsed by the king and queen."

A relative of a president of the United States accepted a check for \$5000 for a similar testimonial. Several leaders of New York society, among them persons bearing the name of internationally known American families, have done likewise. The amounts paid them ranged from \$1000 to \$5000 for each testimonial.

Well-known soap and cosmetic manufacturers regularly pay "movie" actresses for indorsing their products. It is said that one star broke the testimonial-making record when "in one day she indorsed 400 articles, ranging from an aspirin tablet to a grand piano."¹

It is known that one "movie" actress posed in one day for photographs for *nine different and competing tooth pastes*. Her manager bargained to sell her indorsement to the highest-bidding company. She did the same thing for several brands of coffee.

Perhaps the most flagrant abuse of the paid testimonial is illustrated by a letter which was sent out among advertising agencies late in 1926, announcing that the writer was prepared to arrange for indorsements of products of national reputation by a ruling European queen.

2. *Investigation by state and national bureaus proves widespread misrepresentation of goods.* Other kinds of dishonesty, such as the misrepresentation of goods, have also been shown to be practiced. Dishonesty is not a new thing in business. Records of every civilization show that dishonest business men of earlier times also knew how to fool the public. To offset these practices, however, modern nations have developed "bureaus of stand-

¹ For interesting and authentic details concerning the improper use of testimonials in advertising see a series of articles by Alva Johnston, in the *Outlook and Independent*, March 18, March 25, and April 1, 1931.

ards" and "testing laboratories," and special laws have been passed to protect the consumer.

In the United States the Federal Trade Commission, the Bureau of Standards, and the Federal Specifications Board are government agencies which are constantly carrying on scientific tests of the quality of goods. Federal and state laboratories have reported a multitude of misrepresentations. For example, it was discovered that lace manufactured in China was being sold as "Irish lace." A citrus preparation advertised as containing lemon juice was discovered to contain no lemon juice. Various brands of "silk" were shown to contain no real silk. Furniture and lumber were sold as Philippine mahogany, which were not mahogany at all. Cotton blankets were sold by another concern under a name using the word *wool*. Roofing companies have been proved to deceive the buyer by using the word *rubber* in trade names when the material contained no rubber at all. Paint, varnish, and shellac have been sold with similar misrepresentation as to trade name, ingredients, and qualities.

As in every country, at every period of its development, so in the United States there has been widespread fraud in the selling of jewels. In the city of New York more than a score of criminal convictions are obtained each year for misrepresenting jewelry — for announcing it as gold-filled when it is not and for using other terms with intent to deceive the public.

We can see that the consumer faces not only the problem of choosing among a great number of similarly advertised products, but the problem of deciding which of the published claims are honest. In his bewilderment, how does he try to solve his problem?

IS THERE A RELATION BETWEEN QUALITY AND PRICE?

Some people buy the high-priced article

That many people think the most costly article is the best has been borne out by experiments. For example, in one city store pairs of shoes of identical quality and manufacture were displayed in two windows. In one window the shoes were priced at \$6.00, in the other at \$12.00. The \$12.00 shoes sold more quickly and in larger numbers than the \$6.00 shoes. The con-

sumer, seeing one kind of shoe sold for twice as much as the other, believed that in the kind of leather, in the style, in the workmanship, he saw a better article and decided that it was worth the difference. Similarly, the same shoes when advertised as "handmade" sell at higher prices than when announced as machine-made.

The manufacturer of a certain French perfume which was not selling well in the United States went to a "public relations counsel" — formerly known as a press agent or an advertising agent — and received advice to raise the price and invent a catchy slogan. That was done. The perfume was advertised under a new and catchy phrase. It soon became popular, and the manufacturer made a fortune.

A certain business firm manufactured one grade of bedding. This single grade of bedding was sold under five different names at five different prices — and all sold well.

The ultimate consumer, the man on the street, is not alone in believing that by paying a high price he has solved the problem of the best choice. The manufacturer himself may also be misled, as the next example shows. Engineers have reported that even some automobile-manufacturers buy carburetors and other attachments "more on the basis of price than performance." A test was made of automobile carburetors at Purdue University. Twenty-three carburetors were tested under various conditions of automobile-driving. Only four stood the test well on all kinds of driving. "Only one quarter of them permitted the engine to develop its full power. . . . Thus a device costing \$2 or \$3 to make throttles the performance of an engine worth a hundred times as much."¹

From the last example you may have gathered that educational agencies, such as universities and colleges, are concerned with the problem of the relation between cost and quality. They are, indeed. Other agencies too are interested. From the testing laboratories of research institutes, of corporations, and of the state and the national governments come increasing examples of the relation between prices and the quality of goods.

¹ Stuart Chase and F. J. Schlink, *Your Money's Worth*, p. 78. By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers, New York, 1927.

The Educational Buyers' Association has conducted various investigations of the relation between quality and price. They found, for example, a variation of from 24 to 56 cents per gallon for milk sold in Chicago in 1917; in 1925 another study showed a range of from 25 to 47 cents per gallon. Similarly, other investigations showed that the same liquid soap sold for from eight cents to \$2.75 a gallon.

The University Buyers' Association found that one grade of varnish selling at \$1.70 per gallon wore as well as another at \$6.00 per gallon.

At Teachers College, Columbia University, studies were made of the quality and the price of bed sheets. The brand which ranked next to poorest in quality was the next to most expensive in price. There were two brands whose quality was the same; one sold for two and a half times as much as the other.

There are thousands of examples like the foregoing. They teach us that the consumer cannot always determine the worth of an article by its cost.

THE ATTEMPTS OF REPUTABLE ADVERTISING AGENCIES TO ELIMINATE UNFAIR METHODS

The leaders among advertising agencies themselves have striven valiantly to eliminate unscrupulous advertising. As long ago as 1911 the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World, recognizing the evils that had been growing up, formed a National Vigilance Committee with a well-financed staff. This organization created better-business bureaus in the larger cities and carried on a nation-wide campaign to raise the standards among advertising companies. For example, they stood out definitely against such unfair methods as the following:¹

1. Inferior grades of merchandise offered as first-class articles.
2. Cut-rate sales which really save the purchaser nothing.
3. Partial-payment plans conducted by unscrupulous merchants.
4. Misleading descriptions of the quality of articles.

¹ For a more complete account of the work of this organization see the excellent outline by Professor Paul S. Keiser, of Temple University, quoted in W. B. Graves's *Readings in Public Opinion* (D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1928), pp. 742-750.

5. The gross misuse of testimonials and indorsements.
6. The objectionable use of trade names, slogans, and the like.
7. Lotteries, trading-stamp schemes, and the like.
8. Misbranding of merchandise.
9. Mail-order fakes.

The efforts of this organization have resulted in a widespread "Truth in Advertising" movement. Federal laws, such as the Mail Fraud Act and the Federal Trade Commission Act, have been passed with the coöperation of the advertising agencies. State laws too have been passed to prohibit such unfair methods as have been illustrated.

In addition, some of the advertising leaders have been concerned with educating advertisers and the public to the importance of honesty and dignity in salesmanship. At the same time they warn the buyer against unscrupulous persons and companies, and even secure legal enforcement in some cases.

As a result of such efforts much has already been accomplished in eliminating dishonest and undignified practices in advertising. It cannot be doubted that these efforts have resulted in increased protection of the buying public against deception and fraud, and have removed some suspicion and misunderstanding among competitors. They have also increased loyalty among salesmen and respect for their profession and have raised the level of public confidence in the advertisements of nationally known goods.

Many instances are accumulating of the valuable part played by reputable advertisers in bringing standard products to the people and in creating public confidence in them. At a recent convention of the Western States Chain Grocers' Association a statement was made which indicates this fact:

There are some 150 nationally advertised lines in food, and these form the backbone of the grocery business as far as the consumer is concerned. The values of these national brands have been taught to the people of America for the last twenty to one hundred years, through the intelligent expenditure of hundreds of millions in sound and solid advertising. The truth of this advertising has been proved billions of times through repeated purchase and satisfactory use.

The national advertiser protects the millions invested in his label

with rigid and scientific uniformity, which satisfies the exacting demands of your customers' expectancy.¹

But, as has already been pointed out, the situation is far from ideal. Much yet remains for the manufacturers and advertisers to do in order that the consumer may be protected from fraud.

**The tendency to buy on installments and to live on
the future**

The discovery of how to appeal to people's desires has created another serious problem in relation to advertising.

Increasingly, since the World War, there has been a marked increase in installment buying, partial payments, deferred payments, or whatever name you choose to use. Installment buying is not new to our own generation. There have been conspicuous uses of it for nearly a century for the purchasing of homes and other relatively permanent but expensive things. For example, the elder Cyrus McCormick, the inventor of the reaper, was one of the earliest manufacturers to sell his wares "on installments." A certain amount of money was paid when the reaper was bought. This was followed by regular payments until the entire cost had been covered. His plan, launched in the 1840's and 1850's, was slowly adopted in other industries throughout the later 1800's.

Until after 1900, however, buying on credit was largely confined to the purchase of permanent things like houses and jewelry. As you have learned in earlier chapters, the average man preferred to buy his home in this way rather than to wait for many years until he had saved enough money to build a house for cash. Indeed, the only way in which home ownership could spread among the poorer people was to distribute payment over a long time. In such cases installment buying was justified. A house will last a family a lifetime, perhaps two or three lifetimes. Hence to distribute payment over ten to twenty years is, no doubt, a wise provision.

After the World War, however, under the pressure of competition from other industries, manufacturers of almost every kind of article adopted the plan. Automobiles from the Ford to the

¹ From a speech by H. H. Letisco, quoted in *The Literary Digest*, March 7, 1931, p. 49.

custom-made car were sold on the so-much-down-and-so-much-a-month plan. Radios, phonographs, sets of books, refrigerators, pianos, furniture, rugs, household utensils, farm equipment, factory machines and other factory equipment and supplies, and even clothing were sold on installments. Of some of these articles it was actually true that they were worn out before payments were completed. Yet, on the whole, during the prosperous decade following the World War nearly all Americans buying on the installment plan were able to meet their debts. We have reports from some companies, for example, that on automobiles bought by this plan they lost less than 2 per cent of all payments due in eight years.

So rapidly did the plan become popular among the American people that by 1927 approximately one sixth of all goods sold in the country were purchased on the installment plan. In some industries the proportion was higher. More than three fourths of all the furniture, washing machines, pianos, sewing machines, and refrigerators were found to be sold on this plan.

So long as prosperous conditions continued, the people purchasing goods in this way continued to meet their payments and lived in comparative security. But when "hard times" came the purchase of luxuries, such as radios and automobiles, was so great a drain on the family purse that buyers were unable to meet their bills for the necessities of life.

There are other drawbacks to this method of buying. Companies which sell goods on the installment plan charge the consumers more than they would be obliged to pay if they bought for cash. It has been estimated that the consumers who buy in this manner pay from 11 to 40 per cent more for their goods. Were the consumers to pay cash for everything they bought, they would have therefore from 11 to 40 per cent more money to spend on other things. But many people who would find it difficult to save about two hundred dollars for the cash purchase of an electric refrigerator, for example, find little difficulty in paying ten dollars a month — a little less than two dollars and a half a week — to the companies which sell refrigerators on the installment plan. Because this is true, installment buying

has become a common method of purchasing both necessities and luxuries in the United States.

This heavy installment buying — this living off the future — has come as a direct result of advertising campaigns. It has come through the appealing to desires for comforts and luxuries which are beyond the consumer's ability to purchase by the cash method.

THE SCIENTIFIC EDUCATION OF THE CONSUMER

Throughout this chapter we have seen the increasing difficulty which the American confronts in deciding what to buy, how much to pay, and what to expect for his money. Is there no way by which the consumer can be guided in answering these questions?

Yes, there is a way. It is the way of the scientific method. Throughout these books we have referred frequently to the important use of the scientific method in our modern world. It has led to the invention of engines and machines, and made possible cheap and efficient mass production. The scientific method has been utilized in the advertising and selling of goods, and already it is being applied to buying.

What must the consumer know in order to buy wisely? He must know three things :

1. Who has goods for sale.
2. The quality of the goods offered.
3. The prices which should be paid.

In our complicated civilization can the average American know the necessary facts about the goods he must buy? No, the common man attacked by persuasive, high-power advertising cannot know from his personal experience who has the best goods for sale, what the merits of the goods are, and how much he should pay. That is, he cannot know these facts without help.

Is there help to be found for him? Yes, government bureaus and private associations are constantly offering services which will help the consumer to buy wisely. Let us study briefly some of these agencies.

Government agencies which help the consumer

Consider, for example, the great saving which the Federal government makes for the American people through its various departments, bureaus, and boards. Outstanding among them are the Bureau of Standards, the Federal Trade Commission, Federal Specifications Board, and bureaus of the Departments of Agriculture, of the Navy, of War, and of Commerce. Federal departments buy for the use of various branches of the government not less than \$300,000,000 worth of supplies each year. It is estimated that the American people are saved not less than \$100,000,000 each year by the scientific way in which these supplies are bought.

How is this saving made possible? By purchasing goods only in accordance with the specifications¹ which the Bureau of Standards, the Federal Specifications Board, and other testing and standardizing agencies of the national government draw up. These specifications are prepared by these agencies by testing samples of various products offered by manufacturers, by deciding which products have the best quality for given prices, and by writing careful descriptions of what is wanted. The government departments purchase extra large supplies from the manufacturer who agrees to furnish them in accordance with the specifications at the lowest price.

According to Stuart Chase and F. J. Schlink, the government "has developed over 11,000 specifications covering foodstuffs, soap, denims, metal polishes, hooks and eyes, motor-boat engines, shipping cases, building materials, and so on indefinitely."²

Just a word about these testing and standardizing bureaus of the government. In 1897 the government established the Office of Weights and Measures with a little staff of five low-paid workers. In 1901 the Bureau of Standards was established and took over this office. The beginnings of the bureau were fairly unim-

¹ Specifications are written descriptions of goods, including statements of quality of materials, kind of workmanship, durability, finish, appearance, etc., and price. For example if your father lets out a contract for the building of a house, he requires the contractor to follow his specifications. In these he prescribes the quality and condition of lumber to be used, plumbing, electrical fixtures, other materials and supplies, the kind of workmanship to be given, and the like.

² Stuart Chase and F. J. Schlink, *Your Money's Worth*, p. 64. By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers, New York, 1927.

portant, its work consisting merely of setting up a standard system of weights and measures.

As the years passed, the Bureau of Standards was given additional duties, among which was the preparation of specifications for materials and goods to be purchased by the government. Its growth was slow, however, until the World War. Then its staff grew rapidly. Every government department and bureau needed its help. In a short time the bureau numbered more than 1600 people on its pay roll. Its plant expanded until it reached a value of about \$3,000,000. In this plant is housed a most unusual collection of remarkable machines, from the strongest to the most delicate. In

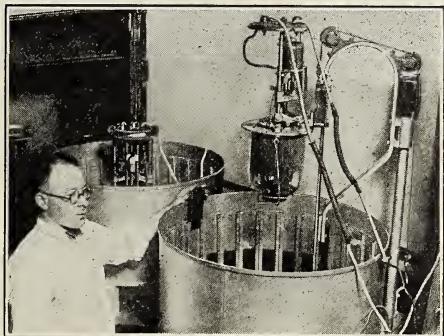


FIG. 176. A year's weathering of paint in a month by artificial sunshine and rain at the Bureau of Standards

one department is a machine which can exert a pressure of 5000 tons; in another, a balance which can weigh accurately to one ten-thousandth of a pound.

The Bureau of Standards has, indeed, become an important institution. More than 800 scientists and research workers are employed in it. In addition to preparing specifications, it conducts tests and researches and issues publications dealing with metallurgy, optics, and chemistry, heating, lighting, and power production, electrical engineering, building, and other fields. In one year approximately 200,000 tests were made of a great range of products.

Other departments and divisions of the Federal government have also standardized their methods of purchasing. In the War and Navy Departments, for example, specifications have been prepared for the purchasing of more than 5000 kinds of materials and goods. The Navy Department does its own testing of products. The Department of Agriculture also conducts tests

and researches which help the farmers in their buying. Publications are prepared and distributed to farmers, telling them how to prepare many of their needed products from raw materials. Within the Department of Agriculture, the Bureau of Home Economics conducts studies and prepares publications helping home-makers with such problems as preparing meals, arranging household work, laundering, and the like.

Another way in which the government has made a small beginning in helping the consumer is in passing laws assuring pure food and pure drugs. The Tea Inspection Act was passed in 1897, the Meat Inspection Act in 1906, and the Pure Food and Drugs Act in the same year. Still other Federal acts provide for the inspection of cheese, milk, butter, and flour. Such laws have been passed to guarantee the consumer pure and wholesome foods.

The Federal Trade Commission, established in 1914, has also been of service to consumers by exposing fraudulent business practices. It acts as a court before which manufacturers have been tried for misrepresentation of goods. Through its decisions, which are made public, many people learn of the deceptions of unscrupulous makers of goods. One official of the commission has estimated that the loss to the American people because of the advertisements of fraudulent projects totals several hundred millions of dollars each year. He states that certain newspapers and magazines publish regularly the advertisements of hundreds of fraudulent enterprises.

Consider some examples of the work of the commission. In one case, that of a mattress company, pictures presented in advertisements showed the expansion of the opened mattress to be three feet. When measured, it was found that the opened mattress actually expanded less than six inches. The commission ordered the mattress company to stop misrepresenting its goods.

In another case the commission ordered a company to cease selling a particular kind of bedding under different names, thus misrepresenting them and charging different prices for them. Cases were also exposed in which "silk" was advertised, which was not silk at all. Many instances were found in which furniture was misrepresented as being made of walnut, mahogany, or other valuable woods. Other instances were found in which

fabrics made of imitation material were sold under the name "English broadcloth." We need not multiply cases; those which have been given are representative.

Sometimes attempts of the government to aid the consumer fail because of lack of coöperation on the part of manufacturers. For example, the United States Public Health Service and the American Institute of Architects recently tried to secure the standardization of refrigerators. Some refrigerators now on the market are so inferior that in warm weather the temperature in them rises even to 70 degrees. This results in an enormous waste of ice. When the manufacturers were approached, however, they were unwilling to coöperate to secure the standardization and thereby the improvement of the refrigerator.

Certain state and municipal bureaus have also been of assistance to consumers, either through the passing of laws which protect foods, drugs, and other products or by testing products and reporting results in bulletins. In recent years governmental bureaus in North Dakota have done excellent work in this respect. In a number of cities the department of health tests milk and other foods sold by dealers in the community and publishes the results for the protection of consumers.

Private associations have also been established to aid the
consumer in purchasing

The American Medical Association has a bureau of investigation and a council on pharmacy and chemistry which investigate products affecting the health of Americans. Through them much quackery in medicine has been exposed.¹ For example, "fat reducers" have been exposed as almost valueless, some indeed actually containing dangerous ingredients. Patent medicines which sold for several dollars a package were shown by analysis to be worth actually only a few cents. Hair dyes, remedies for stomach disorders, and alcoholic preparations sold as medicinal products were also exposed. Fraud with humorous outcomes also came to light; for example, one heavyweight champion prize fighter defeated another and signed a testimonial saying that the use of a certain patent medicine containing "iron" gave him the

¹ See a publication issued by the association called *Nostrums and Quackery*.

strength to do it. Later he himself was knocked out by another champion who had signed a testimonial for the very same product!

Other private organizations and associations are helping the consumer to understand better how to buy. Engineering societies have done very valuable work in the standardizing of machine parts. Testing laboratories have been developed which make reports on the value of engineering products. The United States Chamber of Commerce has long defended the need of standard specifications, and has published pamphlets to help persuade its thousands of members to coöperate in developing them. Other associations of manufacturers and merchants are also helping to bring this about.

Private citizens as well have formed buyers' associations; for example, the Consumers' Research and the Consumers' Wholesale League. Both have headquarters in New York City. They issue reports on the price and quality of products which have been tested in various laboratories. Every member of such an association receives these reports regularly.

SUMMING UP

We see, then, the difficult problems of buying which confront the consumer in our modern civilization. We note the very important rôle played by advertising in our lives. That we cannot do without it is clear. That we must use it wisely so as not to mislead the consumer is equally clear. That there are dangers there can be no doubt.

But we have also seen that beginnings have been made in helping the consumer by scientific research. Both governmental and private agencies test products and supply information to citizens concerning what to buy.

Only a beginning has been made, however. Few citizens know what information they can secure from government bureaus or private associations. Thus only a tiny fraction of the total population is reached.

Much can be done through schools and colleges. Is it not a very important part of one's education to be taught how to buy? Your course in the social studies should help you to understand

such difficult problems better. Be sure, therefore, to follow as many of the suggestions as you can in the Workbook of Directed Study to accompany *An Introduction to Problems of American Culture*.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

- CHASE, STUART. Men and Machines. The Macmillan Company, New York. See Chapter XII, "The Flood of Goods."
- CHASE, STUART. The Tragedy of Waste. The Macmillan Company, New York. Production and consumption in modern America.
- CHASE, STUART, and SCHLINK, F. J. Your Money's Worth. The Macmillan Company, New York. An excellent study of "the waste of the consumer's dollar."
- DURSTINE, ROY S. This Advertising Business. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.
- GRAVES, W. BROOKE. Readings in Public Opinion. D. Appleton and Company, New York. See Chapter XVI, "The Work of the Public Relations Counsel."
- HOPKINS, CLAUDE C. My Life in Advertising. Harper & Brothers, New York.
- KIRKPATRICK, E. A. The Use of Money. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis.
- MARSHALL, LEON C. Readings in the Story of Human Progress. The Macmillan Company, New York. See Chapter IX.
- SPRAGUE, JESSE R. The Making of a Merchant. William Morrow & Company, New York. The changing tastes and habits of the buying public during 40 years.
- WOODWARD, HELEN. Through Many Windows. Harper & Brothers, New York. A woman's experiences in the advertising business.
- Lessons in Community and National Life. Leaflets of the United States Bureau of Education, Washington, D. C. Series C-24, "Money in the Community and the Home."

CHAPTER XX

THE CHANGING CUSTOMS, STANDARDS, AND RECREATIONS OF THE COMMON MAN

Important factors in American culture which we have
already studied

In this volume we have already had glimpses of the changing culture that is emerging in this new civilization. Especially have these cultural changes been revealed in the family, neighborhood, and community life of the people, and in the new conditions brought about in industry, business, and the professions by the New Industrial Revolution. Our changing culture has also been shown in the new conditions of community government, of the press and public opinion, and their effect upon the liberty of the common man.

In the earlier volumes of this series we have noted carefully how we produce food, shelter, and clothing with power-driven machines, how we travel and distribute things by means of power-driven transportation and communication, and how goods are exchanged by means of a complicated system of buying and selling. These are outstanding characteristics of our American civilization.

But we must dig still deeper under the surface of American civilization to try to find the characteristics which mark our people. We must study the changing customs and recreations to learn the more significant aspects of our culture.

What clues do the customs and recreations of the people give us to their deeper interests? What do they show concerning their standards and values? This is the general problem we shall introduce in this chapter and in the following one. In this chapter we shall study the problem as it concerns the common man — the mass of the people. In the next chapter we shall consider it from the standpoint of the more educated people, those who are leading in the improvement of the culture of America.

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE PEOPLE IN QUICKLY BUILDING IN
NORTH AMERICA THE WORLD'S HIGHEST PHYSICAL STANDARD
OF LIVING

In discussing the customs and interests that have developed in our new and changing civilization, we must never forget the astonishing physical conquest of the North American continent. A hundred and fifty years ago there existed between the Appalachian Mountains and the Pacific Ocean only primitive Indian and pioneer frontier life. In the century following the close of the American Revolution, the plains and prairies were transformed into cultivated farms, mines were dug, a national system of trans-continental railroads, telegraphs, and telephones was constructed, and a world-wide scheme for producing and exchanging American goods was created. This was, indeed, the work of little more than a century. *Nowhere in the history of the world has such a physical achievement been brought about in such a short time.*

Repeatedly in these books we have noted what imagination, initiative, and daring courage the pioneers had who did this. Coupled with the ambitious desire for a better living, these qualities drove them on in their tremendous century of civilization-building. As a result, "the American way" became known around the world for its willingness to risk the present in order to gain the future and for its readiness to destroy old things in order to build bigger and better ones. We must keep in mind these achievements and qualities of our pioneer forefathers as we analyze the principal features of the culture of the United States today.

IMPORTANT CHARACTERISTICS OF AMERICAN CULTURE

1. Is there a widespread interest in the accumulation of things — bigger and better things?

Look about you in your own community and try to answer this question. Do people there seem to value chiefly the possession of physical things? Do they not work and save to own their own houses, to wear better and better clothes, to keep up with the style and the changing customs with respect to radios, house-

hold furnishings, automobiles? Do the advertising agencies succeed in your home town, as in thousands of others, in increasing the wants of the people?

No doubt it was inevitable that among an ambitious people living in the midst of rich natural resources which were practically free for the taking, the desire for more things should have been uppermost. During our three centuries of history most of the people have devoted themselves to making profitable farms grow in a wilderness, to bringing hidden oil, coal, and iron to the surface of the earth and making it useful to mankind, to tying regions together with roads, railroads, telegraphs, telephones, and, lately, with airways. With the people's minds constantly set upon such physical tasks it was to be expected, no doubt, that they would come to think most about accumulating physical possessions—about bigger and better things. For that is what has happened.

Since 1890, as the New Industrial Revolution speeded up, this desire for more things has revealed itself increasingly. Note, for example, the nation-wide craving for automobiles. Although not a single practicable motor car was in existence in 1890, now the American people boast of more than 26,000,000. Furthermore, no sooner does one own an automobile than one tends to want a better one, a larger one, a higher-priced one, one with more style, more cylinders, more power! And not only one car—but two! Make America "a two-car nation," chant the high-powered advertisers. So the artificial increase of wants goes on. Every advancement in wages and salary increases the desire for more things, more recreation, more traveling, more servants, more education for the children—in short, for a "bigger and better" standard of living.

This increasing interest in Bigness is revealed in our changing culture in other ways also. In the cities the buildings become taller and taller. The ten-story block, common in the early 1900's, was replaced in the decade before the World War by the skyscraper of fifteen, twenty, and occasionally even a larger number of stories. Following the World War, as America moved into her greatest period of prosperity, the craze for taller and taller skyscrapers found expression in buildings of gigantic height. As

communities competed with one another, the skylines of New York, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Seattle, San Francisco, Detroit, and our other larger cities were pierced by higher and higher buildings.

Not only taller buildings, but also larger corporations, greater banks, huge manufacturing and selling enterprises, reveal the

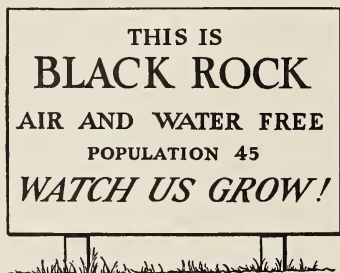


FIG. 177. Our increasing interest in "bigness" is revealed in the height which our metropolitan skyscrapers attain

growing interest in bigger and better things. Railroad systems, each including thousands of miles of track, have combined into still greater systems. Harvester companies have merged. Lumber companies, oil concerns, coal and iron works, department stores — all have combined, joined hands. One by one every aspect of industry and business reflects the tendency to concentrate into larger and larger units.

The slogans of many American communities reflect the same interest in bigness. Advertising signs greet the railroad traveler as he is whirled through the countryside: "The Largest Chair Town on Earth"; "We Light and Haul the World"; "The

Biggest Little City in the World"; "We Make the World's Shoes." Even little villages which are struggling to maintain themselves announce their ambitions for size on great white-washed signs. For example,



Social organizations vie with one another for the largest national membership. Churches conduct campaigns to increase the size of the attendance at services, at Sunday schools, and at their men's clubs. Drive after drive is conducted to give each community numerical leadership.

2. As the Industrial Revolution advances,
is life speeding up?

Paralleling this tendency to build bigger and better is the tendency to speed up every aspect of life in industrial nations. Contrast life in any rural village today with life in a booming city. Note the leisurely way in which things are done in the village. No factories spout smoke and deafen the community with clacking, pounding engines and machines. Few trains passing through the community assail our ears with the nervous, rhythmic beat of swiftly revolving wheels on steel rails. No riveting machines, few humming automobile motors, few grinding brakes.

Life in such quiet villages is marked by the natural rhythm of the wind playing upon the trees and bushes and stirring the corn and the wheat or by the leisurely strides of pedestrians and the jog trot of horses on the highway. There is little hurry and bustle; people work and play at a leisurely pace.

Such was also the way life went on among the pioneers on

every frontier of American history. Work was hard and laborious, but it did not demand constant speed.

But note the speeding-up of life in our modern city as the Industrial Revolution has advanced. The rhythmic beat of travel on the new macadam roads of the early 1800's speeded up as the wheels of six-horse coaches supplanted the lumbering roll of the Conestoga wagons. After 1830 the little dumpy engines of the first railroads slowly increased the momentum of life for people who worked upon them or rode on them — indeed, for those who lived near them. During the middle and later 1800's engines became bigger, cars more substantial, and the speed of trains swifter. The interest in speed increased until finally, after 1900, a rate of 70, even 80, miles an hour was achieved, and extra schedules of twenty hours were maintained regularly between New York and Chicago, a distance of 900 miles.

On the macadam highways and in the air, modes of travel became faster and faster. "Shocking" speeds of twenty miles an hour made by the horseless carriages of 1900 gave way to the legalized speeds of 40 and 50 miles an hour on cement highways. In the air, however, such slow speeds were regarded as dangerous. Nothing less than 80 to 100 miles an hour would satisfy the craving of the air traveler for thrill, for a new record, and for saving time.

Thus engines and motors turned more swiftly, vehicles moved faster, and the inevitable effect on people was a speeding up of life. Ears, eyes, and bodies in general responded to the quickening pulse-beat of living.

A similar change occurred in communication. Formerly a messenger on foot, on horseback, or riding in a wagon delivered the United States mails once or twice a week between the little towns and cities on the Atlantic seaboard. Later, as civilization reached the prairies, the gallop of the pony express determined the speed of communication. Then came the railroads, and communication again speeded up. But methods still more rapid were found with the invention of the electric telegraph, the telephone, and the wireless telegraph. The whole nation became accustomed to instantaneous communication.

Occupations speeded up, also. In pioneer days the craftsman swung his ax and his hammer and moved his saw back and forth

in accordance with his own natural mode of movement. These movements determined his occupational rhythm. They were natural and were accommodated to the needs of the individual craftsman. But you have seen how, as inventions came, the movements of machines which did this work were much faster. The handsaw was replaced by the power-driven, swiftly rotating saw. Likewise, the machines which replaced the ax and the chisel and the hammer worked with a swiftness undreamed of by the pioneer. A riveting machine struck 100 blows while the craftsman struck five. Work for the starter and stopper of machines speeded up, became faster and faster, noisier and noisier.

Think now of community life as involving all these changes in transportation, in communication, in occupations. Think of people living in the midst of accelerated motors, engines, and machines, with increasingly rapid means of communication by telegraphs and telephones, with speeded transportation by railroad, automobile, and airplane. Was it not inevitable that as these inventions came into widespread use our ways of living should speed up with them? It was, indeed. Let us note some typical examples.

1. *The consuming interest in "records."* In every aspect of physical life is revealed the nation-wide interest in competition — the desire to excel others. In August, 1928, Arthur Goebel made a nonstop airplane flight from Los Angeles to New York City in 18 hours, 58 minutes. In June, 1929, Captain Frank Hawks reduced the time to 17 hours, 38 minutes, and 16 seconds. (Note the "seconds"!) Again and again Hawks smashed his own record until, in August, 1930, he made a nonstop transcontinental trip in 12 hours and 25 minutes.

Campbell drove an automobile at the speed of 211 miles an hour. No sooner was this announced in the newspapers than other racers prepared to drive their cars faster. Segrave succeeded, with a new record of 231 miles an hour.

Miss Elinor Smith flew an airplane to an altitude of 28,743 feet. Miss Ruth Nichols climbed into her plane and tried to pierce the heavens even higher, while newspaper reporters gathered at the field waiting to telegraph the "important" news throughout the nation.

High jumpers and pole vaulters strive to leap over a bar a fraction of an inch higher than any other athlete. Athletes seek to put shots, hurl discuses, and throw hammers farther than any others.

In business, speed in rising to positions of leadership is regarded as another kind of record-breaking. "He's the youngest Senator we ever had." "He's the youngest railroad president—or college president or inventor—in the history of the country."

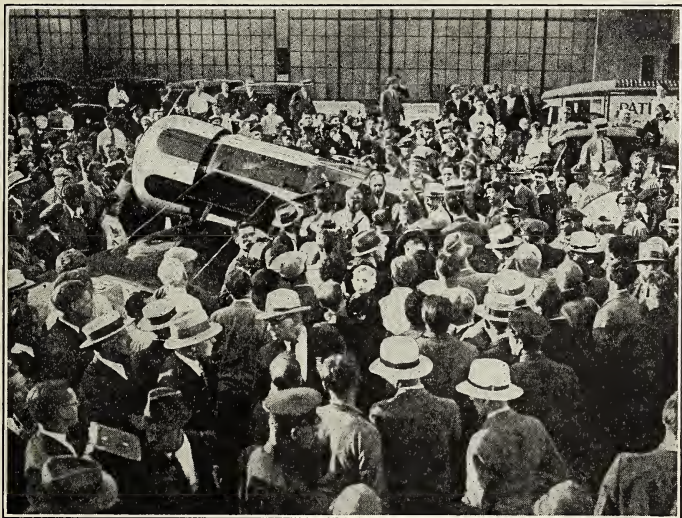


FIG. 178. The interest of the American people in "records" is illustrated in this picture. It shows Captain Hawks in the midst of an enthusiastic crowd upon the completion of one of his record-breaking transcontinental flights

Records of endurance are of equal interest with those of speed. Thousands of people crowd Madison Square Garden during the six days of a week each winter watching bicyclists wearily pedaling their way about an inclined track, trying to excel other hungry seekers after endurance records.

On August 26–27, 1930, an endurance card-playing contest for women was held in Mineola, Long Island! The winners played bridge and "five hundred" for 34 hours and 30 minutes.¹

¹ The facts are from the *New York Times*, for August 27, 1930.

The craze for records of speed and endurance has even entered music and the arts! Note this example :

On September 13, 1926, Professor B. G. Burt of Jamestown, New York, broke the piano-playing endurance record. He ran the nonstop period from 52 hours and 15 minutes up to 60 hours. He did not cease an instant for food, drink, or sleep. He played over 5000 selections from memory ; his fingers hit the keys on an average of 72,000 times an hour, a total of 4,320,000 blows for the whole period of contest. He consumed 200 cigarettes and 50 cigars.¹

So it goes in every aspect of physical life — records in building skyscrapers, records in pulling down skyscrapers, records in dancing, in eating, in going without sleep, in riding bicycles or motor cycles, in ski jumping, in long-distance running, in sermons, in lecturing.

"Break the record!" is the constant exhortation of the multitudes. "He broke the record" seems to be the chief way of praising the successful American today.

2. *The increasing hurry and restlessness in everyday life.* "Hurry!" "Save time!" These are the orders which beat upon the brain of every city dweller. In industry and in business every effort is made to hurry things up by hours, by minutes, even by seconds. Timesaving inventions and improvements are installed in our factories. City dwellers telephone to persons 1000 miles away to give messages which might as well have been received the next day by mail. In the subways and on the elevated trains of our large cities, printed signs and the hoarse cries of guards tell us to "Step lively!"

From the operator on the telephone we demand instant attention. The telegraph companies appeal to our desire to save time by the slogan "Don't write, telegraph." For five cents, via air mail, we send a letter across the entire continent in two days. Signs reading "Suits pressed in ten minutes," "Hats cleaned while you wait," "Quick Lunch," greet us from shop windows. Delicatessen stores display prepared foods which save the time of cooking. Grocers receive orders over the telephone from the city housewife for "Oatmeal — the three-minute kind."

¹ Charles A. Beard (Editor), *Whither Mankind*, pp. 339-340. Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1928. The quotation is from Chapter XIV, "Play," by Stuart Chase.

Automatic machinery shines our shoes for us and even sells goods to us. Witness the slot machines for the delivery of every kind of convenience from chewing gum, matches, perfume, and candy, to a whole meal.

This condition is, indeed, a far cry from the "Take your time" slogans which mark the leisurely spirit of village life and of ways of living in the older civilizations of the world. People from countries where life is more leisurely cannot understand our craze

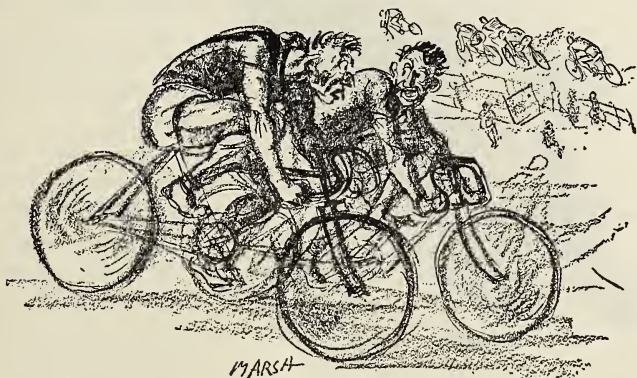


FIG. 179. At the six-day bicycle race. "Only two hunnert and twenty more laps Charlie, and it'll be Thursday. (Reginald Marsh in *The New Yorker*)

for saving minutes. This is well illustrated by the story which is told of a Chinese who desired to go by subway from the upper East Side of New York to the lower West Side. A young American of whom he asked the direction advised him to take a certain subway to 96th Street. "But at that point," said the American, "you must change to an express. You can save three minutes." The Chinese listened, smilingly, and after a pause asked, "And please, sir, what does one do with three minutes?"

3. *The theater, the "movies," the material in our magazines and newspapers* — all reflect the increasing speed of life in America. The next time you go to the "movies," note carefully how swiftly one scene of the news reel follows another. For a few seconds only, we see the beginning and the end of an automobile race.

The scene changes abruptly to a rescue at sea. Then follows a picture of the President receiving a celebrity at the White House. Then Mr. George Bernard Shaw lectures us three minutes and eighteen seconds on the future of the universe. After that a scientific discovery is thrown on the screen, to be followed by a funeral procession of a noted athletic coach. The entire reel lasts

only a few minutes, but in that time, through these swiftly passing scenes, we may have been taken all around the world and back.

The rapid movement of motion-picture plays reflects the restlessness and the desire for action on the part of the people. Crowds swarm to see *Hell's Angels* and other war "movies" because of their daring breath-taking airplane stunts. What "Western drama" is



FIG. 180. A subway scene during a "rush" hour when all the passengers want to save their "three minutes" (see page 487). (By Edmund Jones. Reprinted by special permission from the *Saturday Evening Post*. Copyright, 1930, by the Curtis Publishing Company)

complete without a rescue by galloping horsemen? Indeed, these pictures are appropriately named *moving* pictures. We might even call them the "moving movies."

Our vaudeville theater is organized on the same plan. The acrobats perform about eight minutes, the song-and-dance pair six minutes, an opera singer fourteen. A famous comedian who can hold our attention a little longer may be given the stage for twenty minutes. Thus a performance lasting two hours and a half consists of a succession of from twelve to fifteen acts.

The same situation exists in the staging of the big musical revues. Not for ten seconds between the rise of the opening curtain and the intermission is the audience allowed to sit quietly,

without something to look at. In recent years the scenes have become even shorter, sometimes lasting only a single minute. In such a performance it is rare indeed for even a real celebrity to have the stage continuously for more than fifteen minutes.

Some plays even have succumbed to the restless spirit of the age. They are constructed of ten, fifteen, even twenty scenes. To avoid boring the audience while stage sets are being changed, the mechanical revolving stage is employed. This is a circular stage divided into four or more parts, each one containing a stage set all prepared. At the lowering of the curtain, all that is needed is to revolve the stage through a quarter-turn; in ten seconds up goes the curtain again, and the play proceeds.

Our popular magazines reflect the same lack of sustained interest and attention. Short stories and articles abound. Magazines with the largest circulations rarely print stories more than two or three pages in length. Plots must contain action, speed, competition, and drive. They must hold the attention from the very first sentence. We now have the interesting development of the "short" short story. One popular magazine with a circulation of more than 2,000,000 a week announces at the head of each story the time in which the average person can read it. For example, "Reading time: 15 minutes, 52 seconds."

3. The increasing demand of the people for efficiency and service

In the great industrial expansion no slogan has been more frequently heard than that of "efficiency." Inventors have spent their lives trying to make engines more efficient. They have devised ways of producing more power with a given amount of fuel, ways of doing more work, of replacing more human hands, eyes, and muscles. Under the leadership of a famous industrial engineer, Mr. Frederick W. Taylor, an efficiency movement was started in the handling of labor. Managers in industry conducted scientific studies of the bodily movements made by carpenters, bricklayers, machine-operators, and other mechanics and laborers. Their purpose was to teach the mechanic how to do more work in a given amount of time and with less fatigue, that is, to make

the laborer more efficient. Since 1890, therefore, the term *efficiency* has come to be one of the most important watchwords of all economic life.

It was inevitable that the idea of efficiency should come to pervade other aspects of life. Under the term *service* it crept into our social life. Hotels began to appeal to customers on the ground

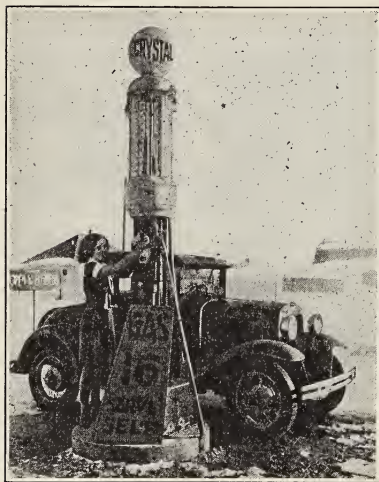


FIG. 181. This device for purchasing and filling up one's car with gasoline illustrates a demand for quick service. (Courtesy of the Link-Belt Company, Chicago)

of prompt, courteous, efficient service. During the past fifteen years few hotels have been built in which any room lacked a telephone, a bath, or running hot water. Even the average homes were equipped with conveniences such as heaters, bathrooms, gas and electric lights, vacuum cleaners, and other devices for saving labor and for giving greater comfort. Railroad trains too began to install services of one kind or another to make passengers feel at home.

Managers and owners of restaurants, of department stores, and small independent stores took up the idea

of service. Service meant giving the customer exactly what he wanted quickly and courteously. "The customer is always right" became a slogan of business.

As towns and cities grew, the demand for convenience, for saving energy, — for service, in short, — spread. Householders the nation over expected to have their purchases delivered — even their very small purchases. Newspapers and milk began to be delivered at the door regularly. A recent innovation, the delivery of prepared orange juice with the morning milk bottle, illustrates how far this tendency has developed.

The electric refrigerator is another result of the demand for service and efficiency. Two or three times a week, before the days of this invention, the iceman carried a dripping chunk of ice through the kitchen. In hot weather the ice melted fast and the refrigerator was often left without ice. Today the electric refrigerator, with its sure service and its convenient, clean ice cubes, has done away with the inconvenience of the old-fashioned ice chest.

Today we have electric clocks that run "forever," safety razors for which no stopping is necessary and to which clean, sharp blades may be adjusted almost instantaneously. And still more timesavers: razors that dry while you shave — no wiping necessary; phonographs electrically driven and supplied with ten, twenty, even fifty, records that are adjusted automatically, will run a whole evening if necessary. And, finally, there are electrically controlled grand pianos!

Alarm clocks, automatic furnace-starters, and automatic window-closers begin our day. Automatic oven-lighters start the oven cooking our evening meal while housewives are 25 miles away in the car or playing bridge at the neighbors'.

There are service and efficiency everywhere.

4. The haste of owners of property to get immediate profits

Students of our culture maintain that another characteristic of Americans is the desire of people owning property to obtain immediate profits from their investments. This tendency is not a new one. It is as old as American history. It revealed itself throughout the entire conquest of the North American continent. Doubtless you can recall many examples from your study of American history.

First, the pioneers took immediate profits from the soil. Throughout the settlement of North America — from 1607 to 1890 — most farmers took as much as they could from the soil. They planted and harvested their crops without much thought of preserving the soil for future use. They knew little about scientific

farming — rotating their crops or renewing the soil with fertilizers and preparations which would restore its life. So they planted it year after year, wore it out, and then left it, moving on to land farther west. Perhaps this was to be expected throughout the first 250 years because great tracts of free land were always available. As the country developed, however, knowledge of scientific farming spread, and farmers tended more and more to conserve the soil. But much harm had been done in the earlier years, especially in the older Northeastern and Southeastern states.

Second, the lumber companies took immediate profits from the forests. Hundreds of millions of acres of trees were cut down during the later 1800's by lumber companies desiring profit from the sale of the timber. Not until our own day was it seen that even more rapidly than trees are cut down new ones must be planted. Thirty, forty, or more years are required for a tree to grow large enough for effective use as timber. Hence a wise nation will require that new trees be planted as old ones are cut down. This lesson was learned long ago by European countries. But in America, even today, only a beginning has been made in the conservation of the forests.

Third, the desire for immediate profits was also revealed in the mining of coal and oil. In *An Introduction to American Civilization* we studied examples of the enormous waste of coal due to the inefficient methods employed in removing it. As a result, vast quantities of valuable coal which can never be mined remain in the earth. Similarly, we noted the competition of owners of oil land who raced with one another to be the first to get out the valuable fuel. In spite of nation-wide campaigns for conservation of our rapidly disappearing oil, we still lack laws by which to control the staggering wastes.

Fourth, supersalesmanship and the race for the consumer's dollar. In our own day, also, examples of the ever recurring desire for immediate profits reveal themselves. None is more serious than the stimulating of wasteful buying that comes from giant million-dollar advertising campaigns conducted by each of the great industries of the country. We have already studied the nation-wide competition of huge corporations to persuade the man on the street to buy more and more goods.

Fifth, the hasty and superficial manner in which many things are made in our machine age also illustrates the desire for immediate profits. One well-known realtor is reported to have said to his architects: "Build me a structure of the cheapest material that will stand for fifteen years." He was not interested in constructing a building that would last a century or a lifetime.



FIG. 182. An example of the way some of our forest land now looks as a result of the desire for immediate profits. (Courtesy of the United States Department of Agriculture)

Rather he wanted to build cheaply so that he could make as much profit as possible immediately. Many students regard this as a dangerous tendency in American life. They point out that the old-time craftsmen built houses to last centuries; they made furniture, shoes, clothing, and wagons with the same interest in solidness and thoroughness. In addition, they loved their work and put their best skill into it. With the coming of the machine age, however, there has been a noticeable tendency among builders to do superficial work. This tendency also illustrates the desire for immediate profits.

THE RECREATIONS OF THE COMMON MAN ALSO REFLECT THE
RESTLESS SPIRIT OF OUR AGE

No doubt one would expect the bigness, speed, and restlessness of this age to affect the "lively arts" of the people. We have shown in *A History of American Government and Culture* how the leisure life of the people has been speeded up by the New Industrial Revolution. In order to see that change clearly, contrast the play of the people today with the recreations of a generation ago. Benton Mackaye comments on the more leisurely play life of the people before the days of the automobile, the "movies," and the radio, in the following words:

There was the swimming-hole in the mill stream — and the flooding of the meadow for skating around the evening bonfire. There was the "after haying" picnic on the river intervale — and the "double runner" coasting parties by February moonlight. There was baseball — and there was shinny; rainy day "pout" fishing — and tracking rabbits. There was the mud scow on the spring meadow — and there was fishing through the ice. There was the illustrated lecture on the stars or on the Norman Conquest. There was *Evangeline* read aloud, on a long solstice evening; May baskets on twilight doorsteps with loud knockings and merry routs of conquest; there was "drop the handkerchief" on the Common. There was the strawberry festival on the green; the corn husking on the barn floor. There was the Grand Masquerade in the January thaw — and quadrilles and reels and slides. The church bells rang out on the night before the Fourth (with the parade of the Antiques and Horribles to come), as the sleigh bells did on the night before Christmas.¹

Most of these recreations of the 1890's disappeared as the New Industrial Revolution swung us into a speedier age. In their place have come the "lively arts," which are adapted to the swifter movement of life. It is estimated that 30,000,000 Americans listen to the radio each night; 15,000,000 more play phonographs or other automatic music devices. The moving-picture theaters receive more than 100,000,000 paid admissions each week. In a recent year 4,000,000 attended prize fights, hockey

¹ Benton Mackaye, *The New Exploration: a Philosophy of Regional Planning*, p. 60. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1928.

games, six-day bicycle races, and other sporting contests held in Madison Square Garden, New York. As many as 35,000,000 newspapers and tabloids are sold every day. During two months in the autumn, 20,000,000 tickets are sold for football games, a single contest often drawing as many as 90,000 people. The list need not be extended. The fact is clear. Most of our people do not play active games themselves; they want to be entertained. They demand action, movement, thrill. Let us note some examples of this interest.

Five kinds of recreation lead all others in the United States — auto-riding, attending the "movies," listening to the radio, dancing to a jazz band, and watching athletic contests and playing games. There are other ways of spending leisure time, but it is these five that best reflect the spirit of our age. None of them illustrates it more completely than riding in motor cars.

1. The great American recreation: auto-riding

Certainly the automobile has already exerted a revolutionary influence upon the culture of the American people. Recall, for example, the tremendous increase in the ownership of automobiles. So rapid has the use of them grown that today there are more than 26,000,000 cars in America. As costs have steadily declined, the automobile has become "democratized," that is, a vast proportion of the families of America now have a car. It is estimated that in a recent year the American people spent more than \$5,000,000,000 for pleasure-riding in automobiles.

Is it any wonder, then, that auto-riding has become the chief American sport? On late afternoons and evenings, on week-ends and holidays, as well as on longer vacations, the motor car is resorted to for recreation. It takes the tired machine-tender from his factory, the housewife from her shut-in life at home, the clerk from his counter, the business man from his desk. It provides the cramped city dweller with the thrill of swift movement. It gives a sense of power to the driver with his foot upon the accelerator and his hands on the shiny steering wheel. Families too enjoy a feeling of superiority as they are carried along through the streets of their neighborhood and their home town. Indeed

the motor car brings all these tired Americans into a new world and displaces monotony with variety.

It cannot be doubted that Americans take more vacations than in the days before 1890. The automobile has definitely increased this tendency. There is, for example, the late afternoon and evening vacation when one slips out of town for a couple of hours in the car. There is the week-end vacation spent in driving to the next county or state to visit relatives or friends, camping out in the woods, or running down to Atlantic City or over to Niagara Falls or some other resort. Indeed, the motor car is the answer to the old saying "Anything to get away for a while!"

Still more important is the long vacation of the summer, in which the auto plays such a part. Recreation touring has increased by leaps and bounds since the World War. Consider, for example, the increase in touring through the national forests. In 1916 only about 100,000 persons registered at our national parks. A decade later (1926) no less than 15,000,000 motorists visited these great forests!

Communities all over the country profit from this increased automobile travel. Hotels, tourist lodges, restaurants, and souvenir stores increase their sales. Communities gain by the use of tourist camps, which have sprung up all over the country. In a recent year it was estimated that there were more than 5000 of these camps.

When one considers the enormous amount of vacation travel by automobile and adds to it that by railway and steamship, one important conclusion can be drawn. Vacation to millions of Americans means moving about. It means travel, going somewhere, seeing things, meeting people. Undoubtedly, this has had some beneficial effects on the American nation. People meeting other Americans far from their home community and native section — on the highways, in restaurants and camps, on railroad trains, at resorts, or in the cities — develop a better understanding of their own country. They discover common interests. They develop pride in the vastness and variety of their country, admiration for its natural beauties, and awe for its physical wonders.

But there are problems which arise from this use of leisure time in rapidly moving about the countryside. There are stu-

dents of our changing culture who see serious dangers in this restless tendency. They point out that the more cultured people seek quieter pleasures, greater relaxation, and the use of the automobile as a means of transportation and not as a place to sit during one's leisure time. For example, these people live as much as possible out of the city. They enjoy the beauties of the country rather than whirl through them at 50 miles an hour in an automobile. On Sunday oftentimes they remain at home in conversation with friends, listening to music, reading fine books, or just resting, rather than join the endless procession of autoists driving along hot, cement pavements.

Let us sum up briefly some of the important ways in which the increased use of the automobile has affected American life.

Since 1890 the automobile

1. Has tied together remote regions of the nation with millions of miles of well-paved highways.
2. Has radically changed the work and play of the farmer, bringing variety into his life and the world to his door.
3. Has changed the transportation of freight as well as of passengers.
4. Has introduced competition for steam and electric railroads.
5. Has increased the variety of life for city dwellers of moderate incomes.
6. Has helped to unify the nation and bring about better understanding among communities and regions.

On the other hand, it has also

1. Helped to increase the concentration of people in cities.
2. Created serious traffic problems in our cities.
3. Changed seriously the life of the American family.
4. Helped to break down the neighborliness of neighborhoods.
5. Radically changed the habits of children and young people.
6. Affected the social organizations of our communities.
7. Contributed greatly to the increase in crime.

As you can see, there are advantages and disadvantages in this great American recreation.

2. The second American recreation: attending the "movies"

Second in importance to auto-riding among the "lively arts" of the common man is sitting in a darkened room looking at motion pictures. From the "nickelodeon" to the "cathedral" of the motion pictures in thirty years! Thus in *A History of American Government and Culture* was summed up the history of the recreational enterprise which has now become one of the largest industries in the United States. Just how large it is can be seen from a few significant figures.¹

1. More than 100,000,000 persons attend motion pictures each week. How many *different* persons is not known, but the number probably exceeds 40,000,000. It appears certain that more than half of the youth and adults of the nation attend the "movies" each week; some attend three or four times a week.

2. Some idea of the size of the industry is given by the following: There are more than 21,000 motion-picture theaters in the country, seating more than 12,000,000 persons; 14,000 of these are equipped with sound apparatus. A capital of more than \$2,000,000,000 is invested. Approximately 300,000 persons are employed. For advertising and development alone, more than \$100,000,000 is spent each year.

3. The importance of American "movies" in the modern world is shown by the fact that it is estimated that 65 per cent of the motion pictures of the world are produced in America.

Several conclusions can be drawn from the foregoing facts:

1. The motion picture is one of the most important influences in American life and culture.

2. The motion picture has increased the tendency of Americans to spend their leisure time in listening and observing rather than in active participation. It is a fact that in many small communities the younger people and many of the grown-ups spend at least three nights a week watching "movies."

3. This practice has tended to break down the neighborliness of community life and to affect the intimacy and unity of the family.

¹ These facts were obtained from a recent release by The Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, Inc., reporting the condition of the motion-picture industry as of January 1, 1931.

What kinds of pictures do the American people like to see?

We lack accurate national statistics to answer this question, but several investigations have been made of it in separate sections of the country. In "Middletown" Mr. and Mrs. Lynd studied carefully what the population of the representative middle-sized community liked in the "movies." There were five theaters in the town to which admission was relatively inexpensive. These usually showed a Western drama and a slap-stick comedy. In addition there were four "better" theaters. These showed generally "one feature film, usually a 'society' film, but frequently Wild West or comedy, one short comedy, or, if the feature [was] a comedy, an educational film (for example, "Laying an Ocean Cable" or "Making a Telephone"), and a news film."

The authors say that educational films in such communities are a commercial failure. People go to the "movies" to be entertained, not to be taught. They want to laugh; they want a thrill; they want their emotions aroused. Hence the people flock to see such actors as Harold Lloyd, Gloria Swanson, and Douglas Fairbanks.

Another investigation made in Ohio of the preferences of 25,000 children showed that among the boys two thirds liked adventure, one fifth liked comedy, one seventh liked educational pictures; only 2 per cent preferred romance and sentiment. On the other hand, one third of the girls preferred romance, one fourth educational pictures, one fourth adventure, and one fifth comedy.

Still another investigation of about 10,000 children in Chicago showed about the same interest in adventure, comedy, and romance, and little interest in educational pictures. Dr. Thrasher, in his study of gangs, reports that the "movie" heroes of boys in gangs were Douglas Fairbanks, William S. Hart, Eddie Polo, Charles Chaplin, Harold Lloyd, Buck Jones, and Tom Mix.

Boys and girls in England are much like boys and girls in America. A British commission reported in 1917 the preferences of 6000 children. The boys liked pictures of adventure — Indians or cowboys; the young girls liked fairy stories, stories of domestic life, and romance. What did the young people remember from what they had seen? The thrilling parts and the dramatic details; not the lessons or morals.

What conclusions concerning the kinds of pictures people want to see can you draw from these studies?

Turn through a popular motion-picture magazine, such as *Photoplay*, *Motion Picture*, *Motion Picture News*, *Screen Play*, *Screenland Magazine*, or another, and note the kinds of pictures now shown. From the titles of these pictures what should you conclude concerning the interests of our people?

Do the "movies" present controversial questions of the day? Do they seek to instruct, to arouse the public to think? No, not if we judge from the statements of the leaders themselves as well as from the attendance at the theaters. For example, Mr. S. L. Rothafel, the director of the Roxy Theater in New York, said that he would not present pictures dealing with the life of the Soviet leader Lenin. Wonderful as the pictures were, he said:

"I wouldn't show him [Lenin] in my theater for \$10,000. If I showed the picture, they [the patrons] might applaud. Then someone might hiss. Instantly everyone in the house [would be] uncomfortable. It might develop into real unpleasantness; someone might have to be evicted. Anyway, it would be sure to engender controversy. And in any theater that I manage we will do everything to avoid controversy."¹

If we can judge from what is now shown in the motion pictures, "avoid controversy at all cost" is the slogan of the entire motion-picture industry. The "movies," like most—even the best—plays for the stage, are not primarily devoted to education or to the discussion of problems. Their purpose is evidently to entertain, not to cause people to think.

Does it not seem clear from this brief glimpse of the motion pictures of today that the "movies," like auto-riding, reflect the restless spirit of our age? Plots must move rapidly; the story must hold the attention of the public. Not for an instant is the audience allowed to relax its interest.

The producers have even measured the interest of the audience in their plays. They not only study carefully which plots, heroes, themes, and kinds of scenes draw the largest crowds, but they also study the behavior of audiences while pictures are being

¹ Quoted in Peter Odegard's *American Public Mind* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1930) pp. 204-205.

shown. For example, they have proved that coughing and playing with programs show lack of interest. One producer has said,

If you cough frequently during the unreeling of a film, I know that you are not keenly interested . . . as interest increases the coughing stops. . . . As interest rises the movement [of programs or newspapers] lessens, becomes imperceptible and, at an effective dramatic climax, ceases altogether. . . . Silence is always a sure sign of attention. . . . The alertness with which an audience follows the details of a story, pouncing upon the explanation or comedy, is another gauge of interest and enjoyment. . . . There are signs of still higher degrees of interest [such as people holding their breath, leaning forward in their seats].¹

Let us list some of the problems which have arisen along with the great interest in the "movies." There are, for example, (1) the development of the "talkies" and their effect upon the "movies"; (2) the increasing use of pictures made in foreign countries and shown here in foreign languages; (3) the motion picture as an important social force in American life; (4) problems of censorship and propaganda; (5) how the "movies" influence public opinion; (6) the relation of the "movies" to the increase and control of crime; (7) how the "movies" can be used to raise the level of culture in America.

3. The third American recreation: listening to the radio

It was estimated recently that not less than 30,000,000 Americans listen to the radio each night. How many more tune in during the day is unknown. Every evening, in thousands of communities, people are twirling the dials of radio sets, searching for their favorite jazz orchestra or popular entertainer, an interesting playlet, a well-known singer, a political leader or other lecturer. Out of the loud speaker comes a varied mixture of announcements, something to satisfy the taste of every American. Listen to the scope of it as you can hear it on any evening when you twirl the dial from one end of the scale to the other.

Good evening ladies and gentlemen of the radio audience. This is Station WXYZ, broadcasting to the American people from that Dis-

¹ From a report, by Myron M. Stearns, of an interview with David W. Griffith, entitled "How do you like the Show?" in *Collier's Weekly* (1926).

pensary of Cultured Goods — The Service Department Store. Mr. Harold Canterbury announcing. . . .

Through the generosity of this great Service Emporium, we bring you tonight a galaxy of stars. To open the program we have Ben Brown and his Inimitable Rhythm Boys, who will play for you "The Peanut Vender."

After some such introduction by the silver-voiced announcer, there follows a perfect sampling of the activities of our people.



FIG. 183. "Ladies and Gentlemen of the radio audience, you will now hear from Professor Flippet, the well-known ventriloquist." (By John Reehill in *The New Yorker*)

Dr. Rockwood gives a five-minute health talk. We tune in, in time to hear a snatch of it: "... germs! Gargle twice a day and keep the doctor away!"

Then Graham MacNamara cleverly describes a heavyweight championship prize fight in the Ætna Arena, dramatizing every item in the scene, from the first assembling of the crowd to the mad bedlam at the "foul" knockout of Young Zybysecko by Battling Georgetti in the seventh round.

Then comes a contrast in the quiet hush that falls on the air as the Bolino Watch Company announces the time. . . . "When the gong strikes it will be exactly 9:58 and one half. . . . Ready, three seconds to go!" . . . The theme changes as the National Symphony Orchestra, broadcasting under the auspices of Marvo Melo Mints, plays the Overture from *William Tell*.

At the end of twelve minutes exactly, the strains of the beautiful overture die down, and the ingratiating voice of another announcer is heard introducing us to a recipe for making cake. Our minds cannot shake off the lovely music, but after several moments we are aroused by the dulcet tones of Mrs. Sara Haskins: "... add flour and milk alternately, beating well. Pour into a well-greased baking pan and cook in a hot oven 20 minutes."

Next a playlet comes on — we listen for a moment: "... the scene opens on the vine-covered veranda of an old summer home where Ned and Molly sit in the moonlight."

Enough; we try another turn of the dial, catching the announcement that Madame Gonzolla, the world-famous astrologist, is prepared to solve all our personal problems if we will but write her a letter and send the carton from a tube of ——'s tooth paste.... Another twist and out of the loud speaker comes the voice of "that darling of the radio, Miss Florence Call, singing an 'all-request program' and beginning with that beautiful song, that song you all know, entitled 'Where the Red, Red Roses Grow.'"

These are but a few examples of the vast range of activities and interests of the American people. But is there any better single composite picture of the culture of the common man?

How widespread is the influence of the radio?

In 1920 there was but one radio broadcasting station in the United States; today there are not less than 600, of which 300 are full-time stations. In 1920 there were very few receiving sets in existence, and these were owned by amateur wireless enthusiasts, most of whom had made their sets. On July 1, 1930, it was estimated that there were 13,500,000 radio receivers in use, serving more than 55,000,000 listeners. In the first six months of 1930 the sales of receiving equipment alone brought in \$231,000,000. Another "infant-prodigy industry" to provide recreation for our people!

Thus, in ten years, the radio has been brought into nationwide use. It is a giant industry, employing tens of thousands of technicians, executives, and entertainers. As a result, a farmer in Illinois, Alabama, or Montana, or a miner in the Rocky Mountains or in northern Minnesota can switch on a symphony orchestra, or he may "hear" a prize fight, the daily crop and market reports, a political speech, an educational lecture, or his favorite jazz orchestra.

In less than a decade broadcasting itself has become a new profession. The first broadcasting studio (1920) was a mere tent

on the roof of the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company near Pittsburgh. Today, as a result of the development of chain broadcasting, we have vast studios such as that of the National Broadcasting Company in New York. But even these elaborate headquarters are now regarded as out of date. Plans are now under way for a central radio enterprise costing more than a quarter of a billion dollars!

Of what are the radio programs composed?

To what interests of the American people do these radio programs cater? Do they offer instruction? lectures? classical music? dance music? plays? Several studies which have been made of the programs given by various radio stations help us to answer

TABLE L¹

| CHARACTER OF THE PROGRAMS OF TEN LARGE AND TEN SMALL RADIO STATIONS IN ONE WEEK IN A RECENT YEAR | | |
|--|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| | Ten Large Stations (Hours) | Ten Small Stations (Hours) |
| Jazz | 259 | 189 |
| Serious and semi- serious music . . | 42 | 77 |
| Talks | 56 | 28 |
| Total | 357 | 294 |

this question. In one of these Charles Merz reported the findings presented in Table L.

Two thirds of the time of these programs in both the large and small stations was devoted to jazz; from one eighth to one fourth of the time was given to serious and semi-serious music; from one seventh to one tenth was spent on talks.

In another study of programs conducted over week-ends, the investigator says that of 900 separate programs "less than a dozen can be seriously taken as music."

Additional information is supplied us through a study by G. A. Lundberg (1928) of all the programs broadcast from the radio stations in New York City in one winter month (see Table LI). Three fourths of the programs consisted of some kind of music; one fourth of all the programs was dance music — jazz. Although the report does not itemize "Other music" into various kinds, it may be inferred that only a small proportion of the time was devoted to serious or classical music.

¹ Charles Merz, *The Great American Bandwagon*, p. 47. The John Day Company, New York, 1928.

The foregoing studies report the condition of radio programs to about 1928. Since that time, however, the character of the programs has slowly but definitely improved. Listeners on the radio are beginning to make their influence felt. Tens of thousands of letters pour into the offices of the larger broadcasting stations each month. These letters are studied very carefully by the owners of the stations to find out what the American people really want. Their analysis shows clearly, as one of the broadcasting managers has said, that "the public wants better things." Even as early as 1926, Mr. John A. Holman, at that time manager for WEA, New York, said:

We're now putting on stuff we wouldn't have dared take a chance on two years ago. For example, we broadcast a lecture on music by Walter Damrosch recently, from Carnegie Hall. He illustrated the points he made with piano selections. You may think that sounds highbrow, but the public liked that lecture. People wrote in to tell us they did. . . . [When broadcasting began] we knew nothing of what our public wanted to hear over the air. At first we had to guess, and we didn't always guess right. Then the letters began to pour in and to ask for certain things. Through these letters jazz suffered a setback. Symphonies, big soloists, old-fashioned songs, and good talks all proved favorite features.²

Since 1928, symphony concerts for children over a national hook-up have become a regular part of the weekly broadcasts. It is impossible to estimate how many children listen to these concerts, but the number is certainly not less than 5,000,000. Companies broadcasting good music also distribute pamphlets containing information about music, instruments, orchestras, and the like. Thus the education of our people in the appreciation of good music is steadily proceeding.

TABLE LI¹

| PER CENT OF TIME IN ONE MONTH'S RADIO PROGRAMS DEVOTED TO VARIOUS INTERESTS | |
|---|------|
| Dance music | 26.2 |
| Other music | 48.0 |
| Educational | 9.3 |
| Religious | 5.3 |
| News, market and miscellaneous information . . | 2.8 |
| Drama and readings . . . | 2.6 |
| Sports | 1.8 |
| Children's programs . . . | 1.1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2.9 |

¹ Facts from Preston William Slosson's *The Great Crusade and After, 1914-1928* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1930), p. 391.

² Paul N. Kinkaid, "Where is the Radio Going?" *Liberty*, November 14, 1927.

An increasing proportion of the time is being devoted to other educative enterprises. From November to April the Foreign Policy Association broadcasts its debates on international affairs, and additional talks are given by its director. Other progressive associations, such as the National League of Women Voters and various educational and nonpartisan organizations, are securing a greater proportion of time on the air. Religious addresses are broadcast regularly, both on Sundays and week days. It cannot be doubted, therefore, that the influence of the radio in raising the level of cultural life is of great significance. Already important advances have been made, and far greater ones are promised in the near future.

An important problem: advertising and the radio

In England radio broadcasting is controlled by the government. Each owner of a receiving set pays the government an annual fee of about \$3.00. These fees now supply the government with several million dollars each year, which pay for the excellent programs that are broadcast all over the nation. An American student investigating these programs says that they are "incomparably superior to anything to be heard here." He says that they provide the English people "with the largest return in education and in entertainment [for less than one cent each night] ever provided . . . anywhere in the world."

In the United States, however, radio broadcasting is a private enterprise, an affair of private profit. This infant industry has developed within a decade chiefly because commercial interests have seen in it an opportunity to make money. For a few thousand dollars a commercial product can be brought to the attention of millions of prospective purchasers living in remote parts of the United States. So great is the influence of radio advertising believed to be that in 1928 the Ford Motor Company paid a national broadcasting chain \$1000 a minute to announce their new car. The advertising was done, of course, as a small, inconspicuous part of a varied program of music and talks.

Thus we find that this giant system of radio publicity has grown up in the United States in the hands of commercial advertisers. To continue to operate the stations successfully, the

owners must have a steady income with which to engage orchestras, singers, and lecturers. Students of the problem have proposed various ways of financing the stations. Some suggest that the Federal and state governments should control them, levying a tax upon the people for their operation as in England. Others suggest that those who sell radio equipment should contribute the necessary funds. As matters actually stand, however, the advertisers play the largest part in controlling what goes on the air.

We are reminded by various leaders that there may be a grave danger in permitting private interests to control this national means of propaganda. It cannot be doubted that there are instances in which these agencies have censored radio programs. For example, Mr. H. V. Kaltenborn, editor of the *Brooklyn Eagle*, who himself has had much experience in the conducting of radio talks on current events, gives specific instances of censorship. He declares that something must be done to guarantee "freedom of the air" as well as freedom of speech or freedom of the press. "Broadcasting is as much a public service and convenience as the telephone and ultimately must be subject to the same kind of regulation and control."

One fact is clear. The control of the air, like the control of the public press, public speech, and the like, will be the subject of thorough discussion in the years to come. The advance of democracy in the United States will depend in part upon how that important problem is settled.

4. The fourth American recreation: dancing to a jazz band

There are other means of recreation patronized by millions of the American people. Some of these we have already studied; for example, the widespread reading of newspapers, magazines, and books, which is a daily event in the majority of homes in America. Others, such as casual conversation, gossip, "passing the time of day," also play an important part in the leisure life of neighborhood, street, and home. In addition to these, however, dancing, games, and fads are worthy of at least brief comment as we bring our discussion to a close.

Dancing to a jazz band is another great American sport. In

A History of American Government and Culture we considered the astonishing development of jazz music as an original American contribution to the "lively arts." Within the generation following 1895 it developed from the hobo music of the Negro dance hall to the modern jazz symphony. In fact, since 1900 it has almost completely ousted the waltz, the two-step, and the schottish — the popular dances before that time. After the World War this syncopated music began to be recognized as the ballroom and dance-hall music of the entire Western world. Then within a few years it was adopted as the chief part of the radio programs of the country.

Each afternoon, on hotel and tea-room dance floors, hundreds of thousands of Americans whirl about to the syncopated rhythms of jazz orchestras. Every evening from dinner time to the early hours of the morning millions of men and women, boys and girls, dance the hours away. Can we doubt that dancing to a jazz band has become a fourth great American recreation?

5. The fifth American recreation: watching athletic contests and playing games

The importance of watching athletic contests as a fifth major recreation of our people is reflected in the huge attendances at athletic contests. Every Saturday afternoon from late September to early December millions of people shout themselves hoarse in vast amphitheaters or sit tense listening to football contests pictured in dramatic language over the radio. Every afternoon from April to October hundreds of thousands cheer or jeer at the professional baseball teams. More thousands of intense athletic enthusiasts line the race tracks and boxing arenas of the country, fill the college track fields, and overflow the tennis stadiums and golf courses. The mass observation of athletic games has become the fifth American recreation.

In addition, a vast group of Americans actually participates in games as amateurs — for relaxation, for health, and for sheer fun. The number that play is small as compared with the hordes that confine themselves to observing professional teams. Nevertheless the number is large enough to reveal another aspect of the interests and tastes of the common man.

"*Fads and fancies.*" Another indication of the changing customs and interests of our people is the fads that periodically sweep across the country. It may be the use of a slang phrase which everyone repeats on all sorts of occasions. Or it may be a game which everyone plays, or a new style of hat, a new length of skirt, a new kind of waistline, a new width and shape of trousers, or a new style of overcoat or cane. It may be a current vogue of labels on automobiles, kewpie dolls or Krazy Kat figures, artificial moles worn upon the face as beauty marks, or tree-sitting contests. Whatever the fad or craze may be, it lasts but a short time. Let us consider briefly a few examples.

Short-lived games as examples of fads. Did you know that ping-pong, so popular recently, is really a revival of a craze that swept across the country years ago? So many people were playing it at that time that news-

papers printed cartoons and humorous comments upon it. After a few years, however, the enthusiasm for it waned and finally disappeared. Not until a quarter of a century later was it revived.

About ten years ago another nation-wide fad appeared. This was mah jong, a Chinese game. For a while it was the game of the moment. Everyone played it. Mah-jong parties and tournaments were held. Beautiful ivory sets were purchased by the well-to-do, less expensive ones by the common people. But only a short time did the vogue last. Now costly mah-jong sets rest unwanted in secondhand-store windows.

The cross-word-puzzle fad succeeded that of mah jong. Puzzles were printed in newspapers and in magazines, and books of cross-word puzzles were published and sold by the thousand. Prizes were offered for the best puzzles submitted. In subways, trains,

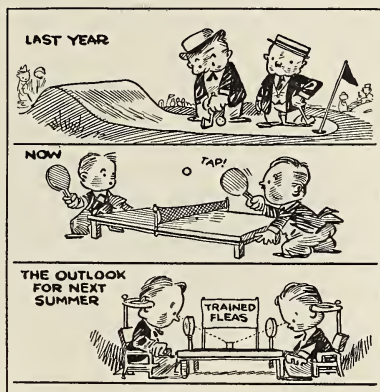


FIG. 184. The comic-strip artist recognizes the changing fads in games. (Courtesy of the *Chicago Daily News*)

and homes people pored over them, searching perhaps for a three-letter word meaning anger. As one historian of the period says,

For three or four years after 1924 the Egyptian sun god, Ra; eel, "a snake-like fish"; the Oo bird of Hawaii; and the printers' measures "em" and "en," were among the most familiar words in the language, because so convenient to the architects of puzzles.¹

The fashion in games is well illustrated by bridge. At one time whist was the popular form. Then came auction bridge, and whist was forgotten. Recently contract bridge has entered the scene and has become the fashionable type.

Other games have enjoyed even shorter vogues. The anagram craze is one example. The publishers of the cross-word-puzzle books printed books about "Guggenheim," the old game of categories revamped with a new title, but could not arouse much interest in the game. Neither has backgammon achieved wide popularity, and now even ping-pong tables are being banished once more to closets and attics.

A short time ago another epidemic swept the country — miniature golf courses. A traveler in the Middle West has said that they are a "measles rash on the face of the Mississippi Valley." This is true not only of the Middle West but of the whole country as well. Even small towns have at least one, and it seems as though cities had them every few blocks. Where vacant lots were scarce or too expensive, "Tom Thumbs" were built indoors. Even in the country, along well-traveled roads, these tiny golf courses have sprouted overnight.

"*Slangage*" as another *fad*. Do you recall any saying which is being used everywhere today? Consider an old one — "Let George do it," for example. At first it seemed to be appropriate for any occasion, to answer any demand, and could always be depended upon to get a laugh. But soon it was used so much it became threadbare and was discarded for a newer and fresher phrase.

How do such often meaningless slang phrases start? Consider the history of the one to which we have just referred. It is supposed to have originated in France in the fifteenth century as

¹ Preston William Slosson, *The Great Crusade and After, 1914-1928*, p. 285. By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers, New York, 1930.

Laissez faire à Georges, and referred at that time to the many activities of Cardinal Georges d'Amboise, the prime minister of Louis XII. Soon it became common slang and was in time translated into English. In the World War days of David Lloyd George it was revived in England, and finally America adopted it, although Americans knew nothing of its origin or who revived it.



FIG. 185. The comic-strip artist illustrates the revival of a once popular song. (By Briggs. Courtesy of the *New York Herald-Tribune*)

Single slang words too are derived from various sources. Some are soon forgotten, but others become permanent additions to the language. "Cab," for instance, was at one time a slang abbreviation of "cabriolet," a one-horse carriage. A cab with a taximeter then became a "taxicab," which is now shortened to "taxi." "Chap" is an abbreviation of "chapman," which at one time meant a merchant, or dealer.

Popular songs also sweep the country in waves. For example, a New York orchestra plays "Moanin' Low," an orchestra in

Chicago plays it at the Hotel Sherman, another in San Francisco sends it over the radio. Through open windows float the strains from a phonograph record — Libby Holman singing "Moanin' Low." Everywhere nearly everybody plays and sings "Moanin' Low" for a time.

Even before the phonograph, the radio, and talking pictures there were epidemics of popular songs. Perhaps you have heard these: "In the Good Old Summer Time," "In the Shade of the Old Apple Tree," "Sweet Adeline," "Alexander's Ragtime Band." All of them enjoyed a tremendous vogue at one time or another. You probably know "Over There," so popular during the World War. These are but a few of a long, long list.

Dances too become fads. The cake walk, the tango, the turkey-trot, and the castle walk were in vogue before the war. Later, in quick succession, appeared the Charleston, the black bottom, and the varsity drag.

Space is lacking for more examples. We can see that even the fads that seize upon the minds of our people for a short time are but another indication of the restless nature of our machine age.

THIS MUST COMPLETE OUR BRIEF GLIMPSE OF THE CHANGING CUSTOMS AND RECREATIONS OF THE COMMON MAN

Our brief discussion has brought out several characteristics of American culture. We have seen the interest in the accumulation of things, the speeding up of life in the modern city and the accompanying restlessness of the people, the interest in records and in saving time. We have noted how the theater, the "movies," the material in our magazines and newspapers, as well as the fads and fancies that sweep over the people, illustrate this atmosphere of hurry and restlessness. Even our popular music and our dancing reflect it. We have recorded the increasing demand of the people for comfort and convenience, efficiency and service, and their haste to take from everything about them the largest possible immediate profits.

Can you see some of the important and difficult problems which are connected with these interests and standards in our changing culture? They are problems which concern the more

serious-minded students of our national life and about which you will hear more in your later studies.

We must now turn to another side of the question. Not all of our population devote themselves to piling up more things, to trying to excel someone else's record, to hurrying and saving time. Not all find their recreations in speeding about the countryside in automobiles, in going to the "movies" several times a week, in listening and dancing to jazz, or in taking up the latest fad. To a study of the contribution which these others make to American culture we now turn.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

- ADDAMS, JANE. *Twenty Years at Hull-House*. The Macmillan Company, New York.
- CHASE, STUART. *Men and Machines*. The Macmillan Company, New York. See Chapter XIV, "Playgrounds."
- CLARK, IMOGEN. *Old Days and Old Ways*. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York. Life in colonial and Revolutionary times.
- GRAVES, W. BROOKE. *Readings in Public Opinion*. D. Appleton and Company, New York. Chapter X discusses the theater and moving pictures; Chapter XV, the radio.
- HART, ALBERT B., and CURTIS, J. G. (Editors). In *Our Times*, Vol. V of *Source Readers in American History*. The Macmillan Company, New York. See pages 109-113, "How Cities furnish Recreation."
- HILL, HOWARD C. *Community Civics*. Ginn and Company, Boston. See Chapter XI, "Providing Recreation."
- HILL, HOWARD C. *Readings in Community Life*. Ginn and Company, Boston. See Chapter XI.
- LYND, ROBERT S. and HELEN M. *Middletown*. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York. See Chapter XVII, "Traditional Ways of Spending Leisure"; Chapter XVIII, "Inventions Re-making Leisure"; Chapter XIX, "The Organization of Leisure."
- MCMAMEE, GRAHAM, and ANDERSON, R. G. *You're on the Air*. Harper & Brothers, New York. The inside story of broadcasting.
- SEARING, A. E. P. *When Granny was a Little Girl*. Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York. Personal reminiscences of life in the Hudson valley.
- SELDES, GILBERT. *The Seven Lively Arts*. Harper & Brothers, New York. Essays on the theater, the "movies," jazz, dancing, etc.
- TWAIN, MARK. *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. Harper & Brothers, New York.
- WIDDEMER, M. C. *In the Shadows of the Skyscrapers*. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York. Social life in modern America.

CHAPTER XXI

THE RISE OF THE FINE ARTS IN AMERICA

**Talented and appreciative Americans are rapidly raising
the level of American culture**

Most of our studies thus far have dealt with the life of the common man. That was necessary because we were striving to understand the culture of the American people as a whole. But our understanding will not be complete if we study only the common man. There are some very "uncommon" people in America, and it is principally they who are helping to make our civilization and culture a finer thing. Some of these persons we have already met in other volumes of this series — such as the brilliant scientists and inventors who built our industrial civilization, the outstanding educational leaders, and a few truly great statesmen who laid the foundation of America's march toward democracy.

But there are other uncommon people whose contributions to America we must study. On the one hand there are the sensitive and talented artists, architects, writers, dramatists and actors, painters and sculptors, musicians and dancers. On the other there are the hundreds of thousands of cultivated persons who understand and appreciate the work of these artists.

From the earliest days of our national life there were always a few people who tried to express through art what they saw in American life. This they did in poetry and novels, in essays, in plays and music, in architecture and furniture, and in other ways. And in each generation there were a few people who understood and encouraged the work of these artists. Not until after the close of the nineteenth century, however, was there a really large and important group of talented and appreciative Americans who could devote themselves to developing the fine arts.

This could probably not be otherwise in a "new" country. During the first 100 years of their national history, from, say,

1790 to 1890, the American people were compelled to devote most of their energy to conquering the continent. A vast wilderness had to be transformed into a civilization of cities and farms. Roads, railroads, canals, telegraphs, and telephones had to be constructed. Complicated ways of exchanging goods had to be provided. In addition, the experimentation in democratic government demanded much of the intelligence of the leaders. For 100 years, therefore, Americans were intent chiefly upon the difficult task of making the strange continent give them a living. It could scarcely be expected that many Americans would devote themselves to developing creative poetry, painting, architecture, or music.

By 1890, however, the physical conquest of the continent was practically completed. Farms and cities had been built; transportation, communication, and exchange were in fairly effective operation. The world's highest standard of living had been produced.

After 1890 Americans of talent and education turned increasingly to the development of a finer culture

With the physical basis of our civilization laid, an increasing number of persons of ability turned to the arts either for pleasure or to earn a living. Young people turned from engineering, business, journalism, law, and the other professions to engage in the creative arts in America. Some devoted themselves to writing, and produced some unusual poetry, essays, and fiction. Others worked in architecture, painting, and sculpture. Still others devoted themselves to the theater, to writing and staging American plays. A few became musicians and strove to write "American" music. There were other examples of the developing arts in America.

As a result of all these efforts a new culture has begun to reveal itself, especially since the World War. We are now living in a new period. Some people think it may be the beginning of a golden age of the fine arts in America.

In this chapter let us study the way in which this new era has developed. First let us glance backward into earlier history.

FOR THREE CENTURIES THE FINE ARTS IN AMERICA DEVELOPED SLOWLY AND WERE BORROWED PRINCIPALLY FROM EUROPE

1. Until recent years most American architecture was copied from European models

The most practical of all the arts, and perhaps the most easily illustrated, is architecture. From the moment of the landing of the first English colonists, the settlers built houses. At first these were merely crude log cabins. They provided "shelter" from the cold and snow, the rain and wind. It could not be said that they were examples of architecture, for there was little or no designing or planning of the buildings.

As soon as regular crops were assured from the soil, however, the colonists built more permanent houses. Naturally, they took their models from England, their homeland. So far as they could, they built the kinds of houses to which they had been accustomed in England. But they were compelled to use the materials at hand, such as clay and the timber — oak, birch, spruce, and pine — which grew on every side. The results were pleasing, indeed. As villages grew, they presented an attractive sight with their houses of red brick and contrasting painted wooden trimmings or their white frame houses with "colonial" doorways or hand-carved, white-columned porticoes. For a time, in New England at least, it seemed as though a new, American style of architecture might develop.

However, as some people acquired wealth, they began to build finer houses. Mansions appeared here and there. Then it was that the test came. Were there architects of creative imagination in America who could invent a new form of house and public building? Or would the builders continue to copy the models of England and the Continental countries of Europe? Sad to say, they copied.

After the American Revolution, many of the homes of the well-to-do were built in imitation of French forms of Roman and Greek architecture. Note in figure 188 the heavy columns that show this influence. These "Greek temple" kinds of houses, which had been accepted for 1500 years as "classic" models, were copied in many parts of America by the well-to-do until long after the



FIG. 186. Compare the architecture of the old English house shown in the center of this picture with that shown in figure 187



FIG. 187. This is an American house built in Salem in 1684. In what ways does it resemble the house shown in figure 186? (Courtesy of the Essex Institute, Salem)

Civil War. Their large high-ceilinged rooms were often furnished with delicate European furniture.

As the westward movement swept rapidly across the country, it was necessary to build houses, public buildings, factories, mills, and warehouses with great rapidity. Until practically the end of the 1800's in America, the settlement of a vast continent went on so swiftly and wealth piled up at such a rapid pace that people



© Harris & Ewing

FIG. 188. This is the entrance to an old mansion in Virginia. Does it not look like the picture you have seen of some of the Greek temples?

devoted themselves almost altogether to building, building, building. With all this building, however, there was little attempt to design houses and public buildings which would fit uniquely and originally into the new American civilization which was being developed.

It is important to remember at this point that Americans throughout the nineteenth century were building a totally new kind of civilization. The peculiar combination of climate, soil, mountains, and plains in this part of North America was not duplicated exactly in other parts of the world. The United States was growing up in a unique environment and was producing a new

culture in the same way as France, England, Germany, Russia, China, Japan, India, and other countries had done. Each of these countries eventually succeeded in planning its architecture to fit its peculiar conditions and the developing temperament and attitudes of its people.

In America, however, apparently the best our architects could do was to copy European models. The result was that the architecture of the American communities from 1870 to, say, 1900 became a distressing hodgepodge of design. The architecture of all the leading European nations and of each important period of history was imitated in these houses. Had each building of any one community been entirely of English or French or Roman or Spanish or "late Italian" design, the effect of these rows of houses of different patterns would have been bad enough, but the condition was even worse than that. Several styles were often combined in one building, with fancy carvings which belonged to no country and no time. Thus great structures of brick and stone rose to impress the observer with their display of lavish expense. "False fronts" were often erected to hide the crude frame building which lay behind.

Gradually conditions became better, however. As our young architecture students studied in Europe, the artistic quality of their designs began to improve. In the 1870's and 1880's two American architects appeared — Henry Hobson Richardson and Richard Morris Hunt — whose designs were much finer and whose buildings were more substantial than any that had been previously produced. Even they, however, imitated European models. Even they did not create a really original American style of architecture. However, though they copied, they copied well, and a steady improvement in architecture could be seen.

Then came Louis Henry Sullivan (1856-1924), the first great American architect. Sullivan, a sensitive young student of architecture, was trained in both science and art in Europe and combined in a remarkable way the qualities needed to launch an honest creative architecture for the changing America. He began his work in Chicago just at the beginning of the New Industrial Revolution in the late 1870's. At that moment, Edward H. Harriman, James J. Hill, J. P. Morgan, John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Car-

negie, Cyrus McCormick, and other leaders of industry were building solid foundations for the great corporate industries of America. It was then that Sullivan, through his new buildings and his writings for young architects, laid the foundations for the new architecture which is now appearing so startlingly in all the larger cities of the country. Even in the 1880's Sullivan saw that a building, whether it was a dwelling place, a public government structure, a factory, or an office building, should be thoroughly American. It should fit the conditions of modern cities and towns in America. It should not slavishly copy the styles of another country. Sullivan taught our architects to use their imaginations and to create new and original kinds of houses and buildings for the Americans who were to live and work and play in them. It was he who, even in the 1890's, led the way with the first noble skyscrapers.

2. Most American writing was also imitative until the
twentieth century

In *A History of American Government and Culture* we have already noted the imitative character of most American poetry, novels, and other writing until the close of the nineteenth century. We need not rehearse this story in detail. Recall merely that until after the American Revolution there were few Americans who were able to read or who had the time and energy to read. Such little reading as was done consisted of the few newspapers of the day, the Bible, and a few European classics. The Revolution itself and the stirring problems of forming the new national government in the 1780's and 1790's produced for a time some unusual political papers. You already know about the writing of the leaders of the Federalist and Republican parties from 1790 to about 1810. This led to the important papers called *The Federalist* and the various journals and diaries of such leaders as Madison, Hamilton, Jefferson, and Adams.

As cities developed in the first half of the nineteenth century, a few original literary men appeared. There were three great creative minds that you have read about — Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882), Walt Whitman (1819–1892), and Henry D. Thoreau (1817–1862). These men refused to accept slavishly the European

modes of writing, the European standards. They tried to make poetry and essays out of the new civilization which was developing in America. Walt Whitman's great volume of poems, called *Leaves of Grass*, originally published in 1855, Emerson's various essays, and Thoreau's *Walden* blazed out a trail of honest poetry and essay-writing from which the creative authors of our own generation have received great inspiration and encouragement. Through their writings they strove to teach Americans to think their own thoughts for themselves, not to be mere imitators of Europe, either in writing, painting, building, dramatics, music, or government.

Another important but somewhat less influential group whose work we should recall at this time included Oliver Wendell Holmes (1809-1894), Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807-1882), James Russell Lowell (1819-1891), Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804-1864), John G. Whittier (1807-1892), and William Cullen Bryant (1794-1878). Although most of the writing of these men was much influenced by European styles and models, yet they too, under the influence of great crises in the history of the country, thought more clearly as Americans. They too tended to build American poetry, fiction, and critical essays out of the new changing American civilization. A good example is Lowell's *Biglow Papers*, the first series of which appeared at the time of the Mexican War, the second series after the Civil War.

After the Civil War, new leaders arose west of the Appalachian Mountains, and the influence of the New England group gradually declined. Samuel Langhorne Clemens (1835-1910), writing under the name of Mark Twain, wrote epoch-making stories of the Mississippi Valley and the pioneering of the Far West. His *Roughing*

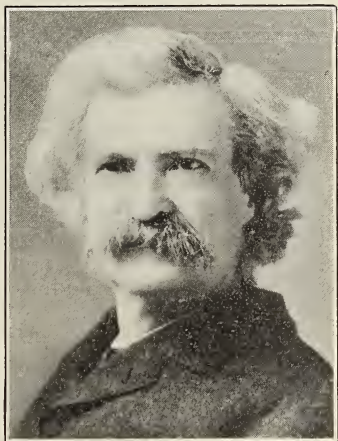


FIG. 189. Samuel Langhorne Clemens, better known by his pen name, Mark Twain

It (1872), *Life on the Mississippi* (1883), *Tom Sawyer* (1876), and *Huckleberry Finn* (1885) stand today as important original American literature. They were American because they were made directly out of the moods, desires and fears, successes and failures, of the American people themselves. Other writers, such as Bret Harte (1839-1902), were also studying the culture of the Far West and were writing about it.

This age also produced a new type of American poetry and short story in the work of Edgar Allan Poe (1809-1849). *The Fall of the House of Usher*, *The Pit and the Pendulum*, *The Murders in the Rue Morgue*, and other stories have been given an important place in American literature. Just at the close of this period there came occasional, striking American writings from the pen of Joaquin Miller (1841-1913).

With these few exceptions, however, there was little American poetry, fiction, or essay-writing that was clearly original. Thousands — indeed, tens of thousands — of poems, novels, and essays which were turned out by Americans during the first 300 years on this continent were mere imitations of European styles and themes.

3. Painting and sculpture in America before 1890

In a pioneer civilization should you expect to find many painters and sculptors or many people who appreciated works of art and were willing to spend money for them? Probably not. In a new country, in which most of the energy and wealth has to be devoted to getting a living, few people devote themselves to the arts. Hence, throughout most of colonial history, there were few American painters or sculptors. Indeed, there were few throughout the westward movement of the 1800's, and they were to be found chiefly in the growing cities of the East.

Furthermore, painting, like everything else, was "practical." The first examples consisted largely of sign-painting used in business and in community government, portraits of prominent persons, and pictures of such stirring events as battles of the Revolutionary War, the signing of the Declaration of Independence, or a session of the Constitutional Convention. Indeed, until after 1800, American painting was confined almost completely

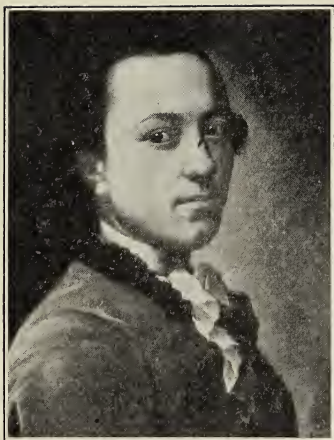


FIG. 190. John Singleton Copley. (Courtesy of the New York Historical Society)

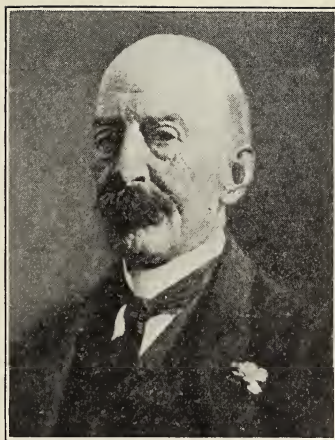


FIG. 191. Winslow Homer. (Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art)

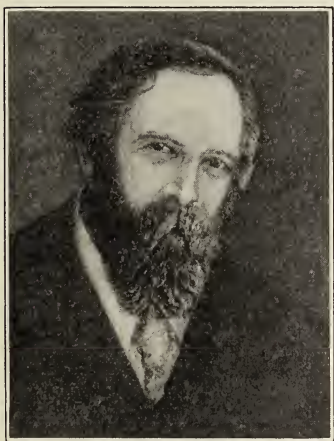


FIG. 192. Albert Ryder



FIG. 193. John Singer Sargent

© Keystone View Co.

FOUR IMPORTANT AMERICAN PAINTERS WHO LIVED BEFORE 1900

to portraits. The three outstanding American artists up to the Civil War, therefore, were portrait-painters, John Singleton Copley (1737-1815), Benjamin West (1738-1820), and Gilbert Stuart (1755-1828). West, a successful portrait-painter in the late colonial period, left the colonies and went to London, where he achieved the honor of appointment as painter to King George III. Stuart, although a pupil of West, shows none of his influence. His coloring and his technique are original, and because of this he is one of the great portrait painters of his time as well as one of the few great American artists.

West, however, had such a great influence upon other artists in America until about 1830 that there grew up a school of portrait-painters who followed his style. It was these men who made the faces of the American leaders of the Revolutionary and constitutional periods familiar to the public of that day and to us. Furthermore, the leaders of wealth wanted to leave their likenesses to their descendants. So, before 1830, many talented young men went to England to study portrait-painting. The results of their work comprise a gallery of dignified "rich and well-born" Americans.

For more than 50 years after 1830, however, painting advanced very slowly. With the exception of a few aristocratic families on the eastern seaboard, there was almost no one in America who had either the time or the interest to support it. Furthermore, the development of art was hampered by the prudery of the American people. Mrs. Trollope, an English traveler, noted in the years before the Civil War that at the Pennsylvania Academy, for example, Americans showed such little understanding of painting that they refused to permit men and women to look at art exhibits together.

Occasionally portraits and enormous panoramas — "10-acre historical canvases," someone has called them — were painted on commissions from the United States Congress and the various state legislatures and for a few wealthy patrons of art. In fact, it was only by receiving such orders that most painters could eke out a meager living. Many young art students gave up painting and sculpture and turned to more practical means of earning a livelihood. Recall, for example, that Robert Fulton, the success-

ful constructor of the first practicable steamboat, and Samuel F. B. Morse, the inventor of the telegraph, were originally painters. William James, who lived after the Civil War and who became one of the leading psychologists of America, also began his work as a painter but was soon diverted from it to the more practical fields of medicine, physiology, and psychology.

Not until after the Civil War, when a new group of wealthy patrons began to appear, did painting and sculpture begin to be recognized. The newly rich began to discover art, and they were willing to pay huge sums for foreign and American paintings with which to decorate their homes. Wealthy Americans flocked to Europe in great numbers, searching for the culture which had thus far been ignored in this country. Art collections were bought wholesale, and numbers of paintings by old masters found their way into the private collections of American millionaires.

A new vitality came into American painting. Town, city, and state governments caught the new interest and employed painters to decorate public buildings and to immortalize the features of public men through portraits.

In the years after 1870 several creative artists emerged. There were, for example, Albert Ryder (1847-1917) and John La Farge (1835-1910). Although these men had considerable talent, for the most part they painted subjects far removed from the American life of their time, such as legends and stories from the Bible. Still other talented men, such as Edwin Abbey (1852-1911) and James A. McNeill Whistler (1834-1903), were so interested in European art that they spent most of their lives away from America.

Others, however, such as George Inness (1825-1894), William Morris Hunt (1824-1879), Winslow Homer (1836-1910), John Ferguson Weir (1841-1926), and Thomas Eakins (1844-1916), were thoroughly American and imitated Europe very little. One of the best of these was Homer, who was born in Boston. Growing up near the sea, he learned to love it, and painted many pictures of it. As much as those of any painter prior to 1900, his paintings expressed something truly American. They were really stories of the sea told in sturdy colors and strong forms.

Weir and Eakins also began to paint American themes. Weir felt the romance of the Industrial Revolution and portrayed much

of it in his paintings. Eakins, although best known as a portrait-painter, also pictured American subjects, especially Negro life and athletic sports. He was one of the first American painters to portray boxing contests.

John Singer Sargent (1856-1925), owing to great success in his earlier years, was regarded as one of the best American painters



FIG. 194. This statue of Abraham Lincoln is an example of the sculpture of Saint-Gaudens

of the 1880's and 1890's. His first paintings seemed indeed almost alive. He outstripped Eakins in fame and was acclaimed as the best painter of the new "society" which was growing up in America.

Sculpture was even later in developing than was painting. Perhaps the reason lies in the fact that for so long a time Americans have looked toward England for leadership in the arts. England has produced few sculptors, and there was little encouragement for sculpture in the early days of the United

States. It is certain that when a statue of Washington was ordered by the government early in the 1800's, there was no sculptor in the United States who could make it. As writers looked to England and painters looked to France for their standards, the early sculptors began to look toward Italy for help, particularly toward Rome and Florence. At first they copied the styles followed by the earlier Italians, but as time went on and France became a center for sculpture as well as for painting, they turned more and more to France.

In the Irish-born American, Augustus Saint-Gaudens (1848-1907), we have the first really great sculptor to work in America. We see an example of his work in figure 194. It is his bronze statue

of Lincoln, unveiled in Lincoln Park, Chicago, in 1887. Note the naturalness of Lincoln's pose, the strength and ruggedness of the whole figure. Saint-Gaudens, however, was unique. In the judgment of many, he has never been surpassed in America. But other men who have done important work and who have considerably influenced the present group of American sculptors are Daniel Chester French (1850-), Frederic MacMonnies (1862-), and Lorado Taft (1860-).

Thus we see that America produced a few important painters and sculptors of her own before the twentieth century. Most of them, however, thought little about American life, and few tried to paint or model it. Most of those who did exercised little imagination and created few original forms of expression of American culture. They still depended largely upon England, France, and Italy for their themes and their styles.

Galleries and museums appeared as the American public became more interested in art

Hand in hand with the development of painting and sculpture in America came a decided growth in public interest. In 1865 almost no American cities had art galleries worth visiting. The nearest approach was the gallery of the New York Historical Society, which contained some fine portraits and a few sculptures. The National Academy of Design, also in New York, was growing in size and influence, and offered instruction in art. In Philadelphia there were a few museums and academies and also several fine private collections. Harvard University opened a school of art in 1869, and in 1870 the Museum of Fine Arts was founded in Boston. In 1869 too the Corcoran Gallery of Art was opened in Washington, D. C., and the Metropolitan Museum in New York City in 1870.

Gradually an appreciative public developed. By 1900 many towns and cities had associations of artists. Art colonies were being formed throughout the country in certain places favorable to painting. Probably the best known of these colonies were those at Provincetown and Gloucester in Massachusetts, Woodstock in New York, and Germantown in Pennsylvania. Taos and Santa Fe in New Mexico, Carmel-by-the-Sea in California, and Brown

County in Indiana also attracted small groups of painters. Thus in various parts of the country, even by 1900, artists had begun to meet in order to work and discuss their ideas.

4. The American stage before 1890

For nearly a century and a half there was almost no writing or acting of plays in the American colonies. As we explained in *A History of American Government and Culture*, the theater was considered vulgar and even immoral, particularly in New England, where the Puritan influence was strong. In the middle colonies and in the South, however, there were meager beginnings after 1700. So far as we have any record, the first play on an American subject was written in Charleston, South Carolina, and produced by Anthony Aston, an English actor. This was sometime between 1701 and 1704. In his autobiography Aston tells us that he reached Charleston, South Carolina, "full of Shame, Poverty, Nakedness, and Hunger: — I turned *Player* and *Poet*, and wrote one Play on the Subject of the Country." All other trace of this play is lost. In 1767, however, *The Prince of Parthia* was produced in Philadelphia. This appears to be the first play written and produced by Americans.

As the events of the Revolution and the making of the Constitution took place, Americans turned to writing plays. A few were produced in which battles were reënacted and such stories were portrayed as that of Benedict Arnold's treason and the quarrels between the Whigs and the Tories. Indians, frontiersmen, and other truly new American types (Pocahontas; Nimrod Wildfire, the pioneer; and Solon Shingle, the Yankee teamster) were occasionally used by playwrights as material for plays. In the seaboard states a few people turned to dramatics as a profession. Their plays were rather poor, however, and the best American actors commonly used English plays or French plays translated into English. The British plays produced were most frequently those of Shakespeare — for example, *Julius Cæsar*, *King Lear*, *Henry III*, *Hamlet*, and *Othello* — or those of Oliver Goldsmith — *She Stoops to Conquer* and *The School for Scandal*. A few Americans, however, wrote plays of considerable merit; but they, like the painters,

sculptors, and architects, turned to ancient history for their inspiration. The very names of their plays prove this to be so; for example, *Caius Marius*, *Brutus*, *The Gladiator*, *Francesca da Rimini*.

The slavery question, like the problems of the American Revolution, proved a slight inspiration to authors. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was dramatized, and Boucicault's *Octoroon* also appeared in the United States. But in the main, slavery and the Civil War made little impression on the American stage, and the United States still looked to Europe for the best stagecraft. A few plays on American themes, in addition to the two just mentioned, did appear, however. Among them were a stage version of Irving's *Rip Van Winkle*, played first by Joseph Jefferson; *Our American Cousin*, written by Thomas Taylor; *Davy Crockett*, by Frank H. Mayo; and *Ah Sin*, by those two American writers of Western life, Mark Twain and Bret Harte. Bronson Howard (1842-1908) used American themes for such plays as his *The Henrietta* (events in the life of the family of a Wall Street capitalist) and *Shenandoah*, a play of the Civil War. James A. Herne (1839-1901) wrote about New England farm life, life in the South, and other American topics in *Hearts of Oak*, *Drifting Apart*, and similar plays. For the most part his characters represented the humbler groups of society.

American *acting* was, in general, superior to American *play-writing*. The theater before the Civil War produced such prominent American actors and actresses as Joseph Jefferson (1774-1832), Edwin Forrest (1806-1872), and Charlotte Cushman (1816-1876). These ranked with the best of Europeans. By 1850 the theater had become a chief form of amusement for the well-to-do people of the cities. At the same time, the mass of the people had taken up two other types of entertainment,—types which have since become typical of this country—the circus and the minstrel show.

As cities grew larger after the Civil War, theaters were built for larger audiences. The new transcontinental railroads now made it possible for actors and scenery to be moved from city to city. Plays which had been successful in the large cities of the East were played by the same companies in the other large cities of the country and often toured England and Australia.

The children of earlier prominent actors carried on the work, and famous stage names such as Drew, Hackett, Booth, Jefferson,



FIG. 195. Edwin Forrest



FIG. 196. Charlotte Cushman

FAMOUS MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN STAGE BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

Courtesy of the Harvard Theater Collection

and Barrymore became well known. American managers and producers — Wallach, Daly, and Belasco — were beginning to be known throughout the English-speaking world.

5. The slow development of American music before 1890

Music developed even more slowly in the United States than did the other arts. For a long time singing constituted practically the only American music. When the early colonists arrived, they brought with them from England their folk songs and their hymns. As time passed, new hymns were written and new American words were sometimes substituted for the older ones used in the popular songs of Europe. Gradually the people in the growing villages and towns composed original ballads. The words and melodies were passed on from person to person, and finally some of these ballads and melodies were written down. Although they had little

creative value as music, they were important as original songs largely made up by the people themselves.

But throughout the 1700's and early 1800's even our national anthems and the more widely used social songs consisted of American words written for European melodies and musical themes. For example, the music of our present national anthem, "The Star-Spangled Banner," had previously been written and used in England. It was composed in 1771 and sung by the members of the Anacreontic Society in London until that society broke up in 1786. In the United States Robert Treat Paine, Jr., the son of one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, wrote new words to this music. These were used in political campaigns about 1800. In 1814, on the occasion of the British attack on the city of Baltimore, Francis Scott Key wrote the words which we use today. But the melody of "The Star-Spangled Banner," which is still our national anthem, is a British one. Similarly, the music of our national hymn "America" ("My Country, 'tis of Thee") is the same music as that used in the national anthem of Great Britain. Its origin can be traced back in England to 1745.

Thus we see that American music, like the other arts, was largely borrowed from Europe throughout the first two centuries of American history.

As the westward movement went on, both in the North and in the South new types of folk music (music of the common people) arose. There were, for example, the songs of the bargemen on the Erie Canal and those of the workers on the new railroad lines. The rollicking songs of the cowboys of the plains and the ballads of the Western lumbermen must also be included in this group. The Negroes made very important contributions, especially through their tuneful songs of the Mississippi levees and the new "spirituals," which were heard increasingly on the plantations of the new cotton kingdom. The spirituals, indeed, were a distinct American contribution to music, something the world had never had before.

Here was new music of the commonplace, more or less unwritten folk type. It was original and it portrayed the life of the common man in the growing America. It was the music of the

mass of the people — the simple tuneful melodies which the man on the street could easily learn to whistle, hum, or sing.

Consider a single example, a well-known folk song developed in America — "Turkey in the Straw." This was composed in the South as a Negro song. It was known as "Old Zip Coon," and it is believed that the words and music were written as long ago as 1815. One verse of this song read as follows :

I 'pose you heard ob de battle New Orleans,
Whar ole Ginerall Jackson gib de British beans ;
Dar de Yankee boys do de job so slick,
For dey cotch ole Packenham and rowed him up de crick.

Today there are available many important collections of these folk songs, especially of the Negro spirituals.

After 1845 tens of thousands of German immigrants came to America. Germany had long been a center for the development of music, and many of the world's leading composers were Germans. So Germany began to influence the development of music in America much as France influenced the development of painting, Italy of sculpture, and England of architecture. As more and more people went to Europe to study the arts, Germany became the goal of American students of music. Furthermore, musical societies were established in various cities ; for example, in St. Louis, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, Chicago, and other cities influenced by German immigrants, as well as in the Eastern cities. Large orchestras were also founded and began to give concerts of the best European music. Gradually there grew up in America a small but appreciative group of music-lovers.

The creative talent for the writing of American music, however, still lagged. There was almost no composing of original American symphonies, operas, and other fine types of music. Among the few American composers Edward MacDowell stands out perhaps as the best of those who emerged in the nineteenth century. Influenced though he was by German and French music, MacDowell wrote many compositions in which he used American folk songs and Indian themes. With the exception of MacDowell and a few minor composers, however, there was almost no creative music of the finer type written until after 1900.

THE SITUATION OF THE FINE ARTS IN THE 1890's

By the end of the nineteenth century, therefore, four important conditions had developed.

First, the task of building the material civilization of America was approximately completed. The continent had been conquered, and a high physical standard of living developed.

Second, a fairly large class of wealthy patrons of the arts had emerged. Tens of thousands of at least moderately well-to-do people had been educated to understand and appreciate beauty in architecture, painting, sculpture, the theater, letters, and music. These had sufficient wealth to aid creative artists, and enough understanding of art to encourage their efforts.

Third, a considerable group of talented men and women had gathered in various cities of the country, devoting themselves to painting, writing, music, the theater, architecture, and handicrafts.

This much had been achieved in the first 100 years of our national history, 1790–1890. On the whole it was an important foundation for the spectacular development which began early in the twentieth century.

THE REVOLUTION IN THE FINE ARTS KEPT PACE WITH
THE NEW INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

We have learned that after 1890 a *New Industrial Revolution* developed and that this changed many aspects of American culture. The increased mass production of goods, the invention of machines, the development of the automobile and of instantaneous communication, and the consequent rise of cities radically changed home, family, and neighborhood life, and with them the customs and standards and "lively arts" of the common man.

But it did more than that. It helped also to bring about a revolution in the fine arts. It did this especially by creating wealth in greater amounts than ever before. It made money available for the support of artists and for the development of galleries, libraries, and museums. It created a large group of people who understood and appreciated fine art and believed it worth while to spend money upon it.

In each of the fields of art, therefore, — architecture, literature, painting and sculpture, the theater, music, and handicrafts, — this creative revolution revealed itself in the 1900's. Let us sum up briefly what has taken place.

1. The new architecture — appropriate to the new civilization

Look about you in any city of the United States and by contrasting the older and the newer buildings note the change that has come about in our residential and public buildings.

What are the chief differences that you see? First, buildings have become much taller; second, sharp, vertical lines mark the new buildings of today. Straight upward they soar, giving the observer a thrilling feeling of uplift as well as of power. They contrast sharply with the flat, squat buildings of 1890 which were covered with curlicues, gingerbread work, and other so-called ornamentation.

These differences have come about principally for two reasons.

First, the buildings were honestly designed to fit the needs of the new city civilization. What was the most important of these needs? Many persons had to be housed in a small space. In all our larger cities, hundreds of thousands of workers in offices, stores, factories, and homes had to be crowded together in a small district. As an example, consider Manhattan Island, or the Loop in Chicago. This need compelled people to build high into the air, and the ten-story buildings of the nineties became the forty-story, fifty-story, and even higher buildings of the 1930's.

Second, the very heights and sizes of the new buildings compelled the use of new materials — namely, steel and concrete — to provide fire protection as well as strength. New types of service had to be developed — swift and safe elevators and new ways of carrying water to great heights above the ground. New conveniences were demanded — electric lights, telephones, and radios.

As the New Industrial Revolution developed, architects of the early 1900's, many of whom had been influenced by the writings of Louis Sullivan, began to see that the vision of their master was

correct. No longer could they imitate the "Greek temple" form, the Roman and medieval types of building, or the later styles of western Europe. They must design fresh new styles appropriate to the new American civilization. They agreed with Sullivan that architecture should be American in every way ; its form (general shape, arrangement of rooms, and the like) should fit appropriately



FIG. 197. A section of New York City as seen from an airplane. What are the characteristics of the buildings?

the use to which the building was to be put. They saw, for example, the absurdity of setting a little Greek temple on top of a tall skyscraper or of using small circular columns to hold up great masses of stone, concrete, and steel.

So they invented a totally *new* design — the design shown in figure 197. Note, for example, the step-back form of the new skyscrapers. It is interesting to know that this new style came partly as a result of the early zoning laws in New York City. Even before the World War, the business buildings of our largest cities were rising to undreamed-of heights, preventing light and air

from reaching the streets. Even city councils saw that something had to be done to protect the city dwellers. In the borough of Manhattan, New York City, a zoning commission was created, and plans were made to regulate the height of buildings. The city was divided into various zones, and in each zone the maximum height for buildings was determined. In what is known as a "two times" zone the building may be twice as high as the width of the street. If, for example, the street is 150 feet wide, a building can rise vertically to a maximum height of 300 feet. But, if they desire to build to greater height, owners are required to set their front walls back from the line of the street a stated number of feet for each stated increase in height. In a "two times" zone, the owner is required to set the wall back one foot for every increase in height of four feet.

Here is a case in which the changing needs of the community brought about new laws, and these laws in turn helped to create a new, typically American kind of architecture. Soon architects began to realize the possibilities of the step-back skyscraper. As a result many beautiful modern skyscrapers have been designed. Among these are the New York Telephone Building, designed by Ralph T. Walker; the Chicago News Building, designed by John Augur Holabird and John Wellborn Root; and the Richfield Building of Los Angeles, by Morgan, Walls, and Clements. Hugh Ferriss has brought out a whole volume of plans and designs for the skyscraper "city of tomorrow."

Ornament is used very sparingly on the new buildings, but color is used more than ever before. The buildings soar upward, with their lines appearing to grow from the earth. The blocks, or masses, of the buildings are skillfully and beautifully arranged. The skyscraper is truly American architecture, unlike that of other countries in its height and its simplicity. It is an architecture of which this country may well be proud.

As interesting a development as the skyscraper is the attempt to design an American type of building suited to the flatness of the plains and prairies of the Middle West. The man who has done most to further that kind of work is Frank Lloyd Wright. Mr. Wright was Sullivan's favorite apprentice. He accepted Sullivan's basic ideas, but, unlike Sullivan, Wright emphasizes the

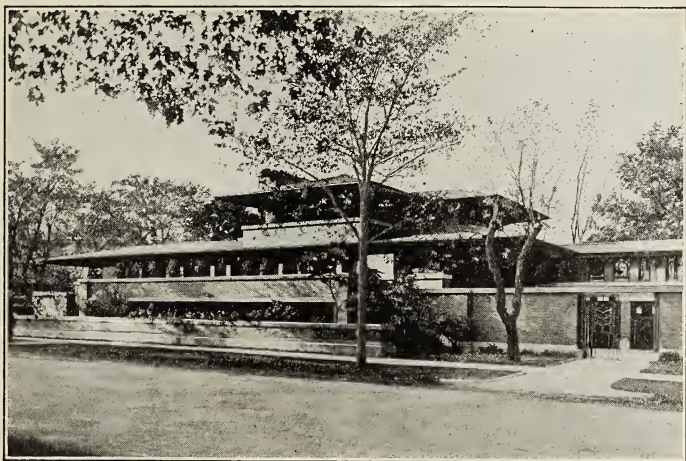


FIG. 198. A dwelling designed by Frank Lloyd Wright and erected in Chicago.
Note its long, flat lines and gently sloping roofs



FIG. 199. Another house designed according to the new architectural ideas. In what respects does it resemble Wright's design? In what respects does it resemble the modern skyscraper? (Francis Keally, architect. Reproduced by permission from *House and Garden*, Condé Nast Publications, Inc., 1931.)

horizontal line. He designed some very beautiful buildings with gently sloping roofs, low porches, and quiet skylines (see figure 198). Not only in the Middle West but also in California Mr. Wright has worked on his idea, producing designs which suggest the massive Aztec architecture.

The state capitol building (the work of Bertram G. Goodhue), in Lincoln, Nebraska, is another example of designing buildings to fit into the broad open prairies of that section of the country.

Thus far most of the work of the architects has been confined to office buildings, public buildings, and factories. A little has already been done to free modern homes from the old European designs, and it is very likely that the growing interest in modern furniture and decoration in the home may result in a finer development of home building, different from anything which has yet been seen.

Thus we see that, since 1900, American architecture has made remarkable strides. In no other art have Americans freed themselves more completely from the habit of copying other civilizations.

2. The rapid rise of a creative American literature appropriate to our civilization

While the new urban architecture was emerging, the writing of poetry, essays, and fiction was undergoing a similar revolution. American writers were trying to portray the lives of their countrymen frankly and fearlessly. They were picturing the beauty to be found in the changing culture of this vast nation, but they were honestly setting forth the less attractive features of American life as well.

Especially after 1900 were these new voices heard. In nearly every section of the country they appeared, writing poems and novels in an original style and taking American communities and American types as their subjects. No doubt you are reading many of these in your literature classes.

Let us consider a few examples. Carl Sandburg (1878-) created a new style in his *Chicago Poems* (1916), *Cornhuskers* (1918), *Smoke and Steel* (1920), and *Slabs of the Sunburnt West* (1922). In these he painted thrilling word pictures of the bustling



FIG. 200. Amy Lowell

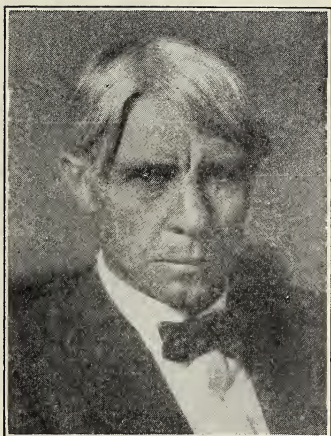


FIG. 201. Carl Sandburg

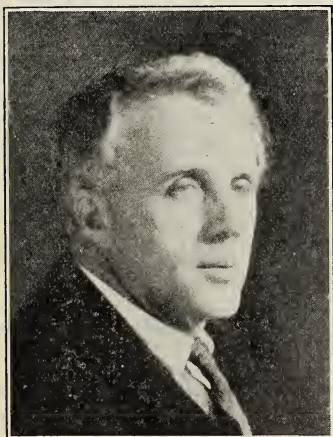


FIG. 202. Robert Frost



FIG. 203. Edna St. Vincent Millay

SOME AMERICANS WHO MADE IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO POETRY
AFTER 1900

activity of the rising cities of the Middle West. Take as a single example these lines from his poem entitled "Smoke and Steel."

Pittsburg, Youngstown, Gary — they make their steel with men.

In the blood of men and the ink of chimneys

The smoke nights write their oaths:

Smoke into steel and blood into steel;

Homestead, Braddock, Birmingham, they make their steel with men.

Smoke and blood is the mix of steel.

The birdmen drone

In the blue; it is steel

a motor sings and zooms.¹

Life in the small town was similarly used as an American subject by the poet Edgar Lee Masters (1869–). In his *Spoon River Anthology* he makes the people of a small American town who have died tell the stories of their lives, the drab and unpleasant parts as well as the happier ones.

A new type of novel also began to appear, which portrayed the everyday lives of Americans in towns and cities. Sinclair Lewis (1885–), recently winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature, dramatized the life in the small American Middle Western town in his *Main Street*, and the life of the medium-sized city in *Babbitt* and *Arrowsmith*. Sherwood Anderson used the same themes in his *Poor White* and in *Winesburg, Ohio*. Theodore Dreiser (1871–) contributed other sidelights on the culture of the common man in such books as *An American Tragedy*, *The Genius*, and *The Financier*.

In New England Robert Frost (1875–), in his *North of Boston*, *A Boy's Will*, and other collections of poems, writes of the daily happenings in the life of the common man who struggles to get a living from rocky soil. Among the poems of Edwin Arlington Robinson (1869–) are several picturing life among the rank and file of New Englanders.

Of the younger poets Joseph Auslander (1897–) sings of the industrial civilization of the great cities. Stephen Vincent Benét (1898–) chants industrial America.

¹ From "Smoke and Steel," in Carl Sandburg's *Smoke and Steel* (Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1920).



FIG. 204. Sinclair Lewis

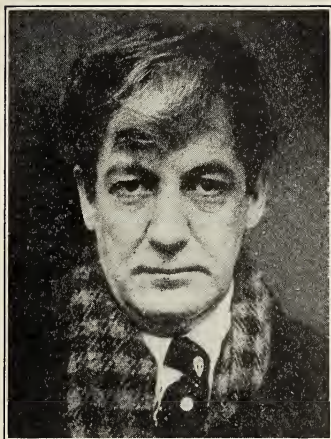


FIG. 205. Sherwood Anderson



FIG. 206. Edith Wharton

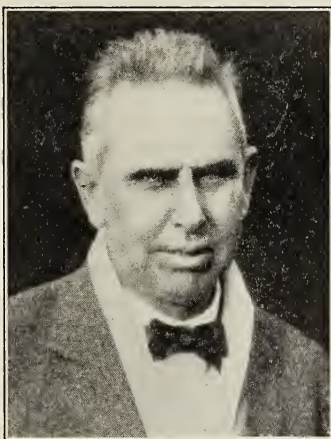


FIG. 207. Theodore Dreiser. (Courtesy of Horace Liveright, Inc.)

SOME WRITERS WHO HAVE MADE IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE
AMERICAN NOVEL

We could add a long list of others — Vachel Lindsay, Edna St. Vincent Millay, Alfred Kreymborg, Amy Lowell, Adelaide Crapsey, to name only a few. These make up a company of new American poets, writing about our own civilization and culture, portraying American types and characters, and inventing original ways of saying what they feel.

After 1910 other kinds of original writing were produced. Critical essays of American life began to appear in the magazines. In these a young group of essayists were weighing American life honestly, balancing the good in it against the questionable features.

Among these critics Herbert Croly, Van Wyck Brooks, Waldo Frank, Randolph Bourne, H. L. Mencken, Walter Lippmann, and Lewis Mumford are of especial importance. The very names of books produced by some of them show the way in which they were thinking of America: Croly's *Promise of American Life*, Lippmann's *A Preface to Politics*, Frank's *Our America* and *Rediscovery of America*, Brooks's *Letters and Leadership* and *America's Coming of Age*.

Most of these writers — the poets, novelists, and essayists whom we have mentioned — are contributing to American literature. Their themes often step beyond the boundaries of America, just as the thoughts of the American people are often turned to Europe or Asia or Africa, but they write for America and from the American point of view.

Thus we see that in literature as well as in architecture America is producing independent creative writers. No longer do we depend upon European or classic subjects. No longer do we imitate slavishly the styles and forms of writing employed by other peoples.

3. The advance in creative American painting

The change in architecture reveals itself clearly in the new buildings in our cities and towns, and people can see and understand what is happening. Similarly people also know that hundreds of writers are producing American literature. But it is probably not so well known that a similar improvement is occurring in American painting and sculpture. In the various large cen-

ters of the country, talented young men and women are beginning to produce an original American art. They are not merely copying the Greeks, Romans, and other foreign masters. Instead they are trying to discover ways of painting what they see and feel in American life. In this respect they are like the new architects and writers.

Perhaps the earliest center of creative painting to develop was that which grew up around Robert Henri (1865–1929), in Philadelphia. Henri went to Europe to study the work of the modern French painters — Cézanne, Gauguin, and Renoir. He had perceived that these French painters were painting the life of French people as they saw and felt it. They were honest painters, not imitators of others. Furthermore they were inventing styles of their own. When Henri returned to America in 1891, he determined to join with other young artists in freeing American painting from the imitative habits of the past. For many years he taught painting and at the same time did some painting himself.

Henri found a group of young artists who shared his enthusiastic faith in an American kind of painting. Among them were George Bellows, George Luks, John Sloan, and William Glackens. Although they were earning their living as commercial illustrators, in their free moments they were developing new ways of painting. They used American themes, for example, crowded city slums, children playing on the streets, and boxing contests. These were in marked contrast to the landscapes which predominated among painters of the preceding half-century. Here, then, was one group which contributed to the development of an American art.

After 1900 other centers of original American painting developed. One grew up around Alfred Stieglitz, in New York City. Stieglitz, who was born in New Jersey in 1864, had become world-famous by 1900 as a photographer. Like Henri, he saw clearly that American artists should use American subjects and characters and that each artist should develop his own unique way of painting. It was Stieglitz who, in 1904, in his little studio, "291 Fifth Avenue," first introduced the work of Cézanne and other modern French painters to Americans. In the years following, "291" became the rendezvous of poor young artists. Stieglitz befriended them, helped them with his own meager funds, advised them

about their paintings and writings, and exhibited their work. Outstanding among Stieglitz's group of painters are Georgia O'Keeffe, whose themes are the flowers, trees, and mountains of the countryside, as well as the great buildings of the metropolis; and John Marin, our leading water-colorist. To this day Stieglitz continues his work, now at a new studio in New York City. Its very name, "An American Place," emphasizes his lifelong leadership and interest in encouraging artists to portray what they feel about American life.

Arthur B. Davies (1862-1928), and Rockwell Kent (1882-), with their peopled landscapes, are two other strongly individualistic and successful artists.

Another group of creative painters grew up at Woodstock, New York, prominent among the leaders being George Bellows (1882-1925), Eugene Speicher (1883-), William McFee (1881-), and Charles Rosen (1878-).

Remarkable as has been the modern development, it has only begun. In sculpture the American Academy at Rome has produced a number of young men of great promise. Paulanship, — who is influenced by the early Greek style, but who shows great individuality, — Carl Paul Jennewein, Leo Friedlander, and Allan Clark are all men whose work deserves watching. James Earle Frazer was Saint-Gaudens's right-hand man, but has developed a vigorous style of his own. The work of Gaston Lachaise, a French artist who became an American citizen, promises much in the future. Trygve Hammer of Norway has chosen America for his art, and his work shows fine rugged strength. Jacob Epstein produces figures of great power.

In 1913 the Association of American Artists and Sculptors was formed for instruction and exhibit. The Art Students' League of New York City is one of the most modern and best of the art associations, both for instruction and for criticism. In 1917 the Society of Independent Artists was formed for the purpose of affording young students from all parts of the country an opportunity to present their work before the public.

Today there is no lack of opportunity for artists to exhibit their paintings and sculpture and to keep abreast of the changing ideas of other artists.

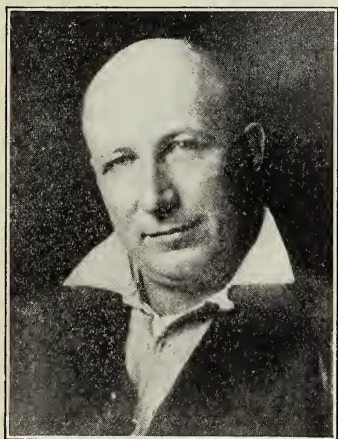


FIG. 208. George W. Bellows



FIG. 209. Georgia O'Keeffe

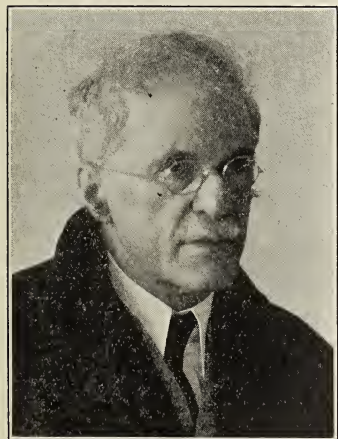


FIG. 210. Alfred Stieglitz



FIG. 211. Jacob Epstein

TWO PAINTERS, A PHOTOGRAPHER, AND A SCULPTOR WHO HAVE MADE
IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO MODERN AMERICAN ART

4. The new art-theater movement

For the past two decades the theater has also developed rapidly. A new movement, variously known as the little-theater movement, the community-theater movement, and the art-theater movement, has developed hand in hand with the development of writing and painting.

Even by 1915, Americans interested in the drama had been influenced by the excellent work of the Russians from the Moscow Art Theater and of the French under Jacques Copeau and his Théâtre du Vieux Colombier. The enthusiasm came from college students, artists, decorators, architects, and amateurs with interesting, original ideas.

Boston was the first city to boast an art theater. In 1911 the Toy Theater opened there, struggled through a brief existence, and then failed. In Chicago the Little Theater, and in Madison, Wisconsin, the Dramatic Society came to life shortly afterwards. New York City, the center of the drama, was not to be outdone, and during the same year the Neighborhood Playhouse opened in an East Side neighborhood.

In 1915 one of the most artistic of these new groups of actors formed at Provincetown, Massachusetts, numbering many artists among its members. After a brief experiment at Provincetown the players moved to New York City. The Provincetown group accomplished much for the American theater, for it offered to modern American playwrights who were unable to find producers a stage whereon they might be as original as they wished. One of the most famous of the modern dramatists, Eugene O'Neill, became known through the work of the tiny Provincetown Playhouse. Many other distinguished names can be found on their early programs.

The same memorable year, 1915, saw the formation of the Washington Square Players. Among the members of this group, who presented brilliant drama, were several professional actors. The Washington Square Players soon failed, however, partly because of competition from large producers and partly because of the disturbed conditions during the World War.

In the meantime, in other cities throughout the country, peo-

ple with talent and some leisure undertook to build community art theaters. In Cleveland the Playhouse began as a laboratory stage and became one of the principal art theaters between New York and California. In Pasadena and Santa Barbara, California, community theaters were organized and immediately began to grow at such a rate that today both these theater groups own large, handsome theaters, with all the equipment and space usually given to professional groups. The art colony at Carmel-by-the-Sea formed another small group under a good director. Los Angeles opened a little theater, and the legitimate drama was able to compete successfully with the motion pictures. Dallas, Texas; Indianapolis, Indiana; Galesburg, Illinois; Detroit and Ypsilanti, Michigan, all have their small groups, many of which display unusual talent and power. In addition, many college and university towns have little-theater organizations in connection with college courses in the drama.

In the large cities such organizations as the Chicago Playhouse and the Boston Repertory Theater were able to stage harmonious and pleasing dramatic performances, often far superior to those offered by professional producers. Unfortunately the Boston Repertory has recently failed. Since 1919 the Theater Guild, the Actors' Equity Theater, and the Civic Repertory Theater have appeared in New York City. A number of talented artists have turned from the purely commercial side of play production to take part in these organizations. Of the three, the Guild has had the greatest commercial success.

When the Guild opened in 1919 it attracted three members from the Washington Square Players — two good professional actors and an experienced director. It was particularly fortunate to have as its stage designer Lee Simonson, whose sets combine craftsmanship and art. As a result of all these factors, the Theater Guild soon took the lead in stagecraft among the art theaters. The success of the group was extraordinary. Tickets were sold to the public by subscription, and about twelve years after the formation of the Guild between 25,000 and 30,000 people subscribed annually. The Guild has now acquired a permanent theater building, with a stage splendidly equipped for artistic productions.

One of the most recent of the art-theater companies is the Civic Repertory Theater, which is under the expert direction of Miss Eva Le Gallienne, an actress of long experience. Miss Le Gallienne produces, directs, and acts in her theater. During each dramatic season a series of really fine plays is produced. Through her efforts the American public has become acquainted with many works of Russian, French, Spanish, Norwegian, and Italian dramatists, most of which have never before been seen in an American theater.

Music since 1890

In recent years much progress has also been made in music. Today America has several symphony orchestras equal to the best of Europe; excellent opera companies have been formed; American composers are composing original American music; choral societies and civic music associations have been formed; colleges and universities offer higher education in music. All of these things have come in the past forty years.

Consider the symphony orchestra, for example. Before 1900 there were but few in this country. Today nearly every large city has one. It is estimated that there are now more than seventy permanent symphony orchestras in the United States — approximately as many as in all Europe.

In a few large cities — especially in New York and Chicago — opera has also developed. The Metropolitan Opera Company of New York brings together the most famous singers from all over the world. Next to it in importance is the Chicago Civic Opera Company. The artists whom we hear are still largely European, and the operas almost exclusively so. In addition to the regular winter seasons of these major opera companies, certain open-air auditoriums — for example Ravinia Park, Chicago, and Forest Park, St. Louis — have become nationally famous for the summer productions given by eminent artists.

Occupying an important place in the new musical life of America are the annual music festivals. More than one hundred of these are now conducted each year in various parts of the United States. On the programs, lasting from two to four days, are included orchestras, singers (both solo and chorus), and



FIG. 212. Eva Le Gallienne, actress,
director, and producer



FIG. 213. John Barrymore, actor.
(Courtesy of Warner Brothers)

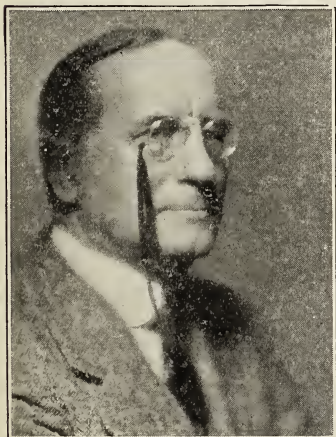


FIG. 214. George Pierce Baker,
playwright and director

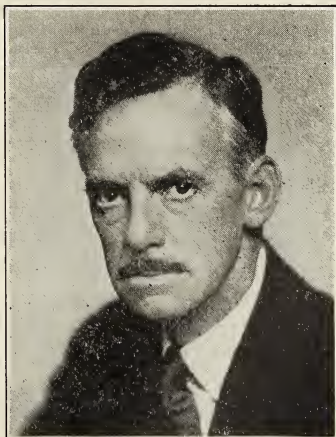


FIG. 215. Eugene O'Neill,
playwright

soloists who have gained national repute for their performances on the violin, piano, and other musical instruments. Some of these music festivals, founded very long ago, have become renowned; for example, the Northwest Saengerbund in Milwaukee, the Worcester Festival, the Cincinnati Festival, and the Bach Festival at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

A large number of choral societies have also developed. It is estimated that there are now nearly six hundred such organizations composed of singers gathered from the local communities of the nation. These choral societies provide an effective way of developing an appreciation of fine music.

It is perhaps too early in America's musical history to measure the work of her composers. Certainly, a few of those who have already composed original music can be regarded as important. There is, for example, George W. Chadwick (1854-1931), who wrote symphonies, orchestral ballads, and choral works; Arthur Foote (1853-), composer of many works for the orchestra, piano pieces, chamber music, and choral works; Horatio Parker (1863-1919), who is well known for his oratorios and choral works; Deems Taylor (1885-), who has composed two original operas—"The King's Henchman" and "Peter Ibbetson"; Charles Martin Loeffler (1861-), who has composed orchestral suites, chamber music, and other music for orchestras; Henry F. Gilbert (1868-1928), who has used folk melodies; Charles Wakefield Cadman (1881-), who has written songs and operas using Indian themes; Victor Herbert (1859-1924), who wrote nearly forty light operas through which he achieved an international reputation. It is perhaps too early to estimate accurately the value of George Gershwin's "jazz concerto," the "Rhapsody in Blue." His work certainly promises the development of new art forms in music, possibly comparable to the new architecture that our city architects are now producing.

Thus we see that definite progress is being made in the development of music as a fine art in America. One reason is the increase in the number of well-to-do persons willing and interested to spend money to help develop the musical life of the nation. Already many civic music associations have been established. One of the leading organizations is the Los Angeles Civic Music and

Art Association. This organization conducts many performances in the Hollywood Bowl, a huge natural amphitheater which is filled to overflowing by crowds of people. The oldest municipal association is the Chicago Civic Music Association. Others of equal importance are the Philadelphia Music League, the Wilmington (Delaware) Music Commission, and the Municipal Symphony Orchestra of Baltimore.

Musical instruction in universities, colleges, and music institutes has also developed rapidly. It is no longer necessary to go abroad to obtain competent instruction. In recent years excellent performers, conductors, and teachers have come to the United States from Europe. Thus our country is rapidly becoming a center for the development of musical culture.

This must complete our study of the rise of the fine arts in America. Although brief, it has borne out the statement made at the beginning — that many talented and appreciative Americans are raising the level of American culture. On the one hand creative artists are beginning to develop genuine American art. On the other hand a large group of appreciative patrons of the arts is emerging. No longer do our artists depend wholly upon Europe and the ancient classics for their themes or their form. At last they paint, write, act, dance, play, and compose in their own original ways.

Does it not seem quite possible that America might just be entering upon her golden age in the fine arts?

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

- BROWN, ROLLO WALTER. *Lonely Americans*. Coward-McCann, New York. See the chapter on George Bellows.
- CHEY, SHELTON. *The New World Architecture*. Longmans, Green & Co., New York.
- FINGER, CHARLES J. *Frontier Ballads*. Doubleday, Page & Company, New York. A collection of the folk songs of the frontier.
- GILBERT, ARIADNE. *More than Conquerors*. The Century Co., New York. Sketch of the life of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, pp. 345-371; of Ralph Waldo Emerson, pp. 117-144; of Washington Irving, pp. 87-116.
- GRAVES, W. BROOKE. *Readings in Public Opinion*. D. Appleton and Company, New York. Chapter XII discusses music, and Chapter XIII art.
- IRWIN, GRACE. *Trail-blazers of American Art*. Harper & Brothers, New York.

JOHNSON, JAMES WELDON (Editor). *The Book of American Negro Spirituals*. The Viking Press, New York.

MANLY, JOHN M., and RICKERT, EDITH. *Contemporary American Literature*. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York.

OSGOOD, HENRY O. *So this is Jazz*. Little, Brown and Company, Boston.

SANDBURG, CARL. *The American Songbag*. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York.

UNTERMAYER, LOUIS. *American Poetry since 1900*. Henry Holt and Company, New York.

Enjoying the Arts. Scholastic Publishing Company, Pittsburgh. Copies may be purchased from the Scholastic Publishing Company, Wabash Building, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, for 35 cents each or less if ordered in quantity.

CHAPTER XXII

ASSIMILATION OF DIFFERENT NATIONALITIES AND RACES

THE TWOFOLD PROBLEM OF ASSIMILATION

One final problem awaits our study — how to make a unified American people out of the complex mixture of nationalities and races in the United States. This problem is really twofold: on the one hand, Americanizing immigrants — teaching them the fine things in our culture; on the other hand, learning from them the fine things they have brought from their native lands.

From your earlier studies you know what a mixed population America has.¹ In our cities and rural villages millions of Europeans, Asiatics, and Latin Americans strive eagerly to become true Americans, while many others cling to the culture of their homelands and to their native customs. Everywhere in great cities and in rural communities you can hear foreign tongues, see foreign-language newspapers, and encounter foreign churches, businesses, and organizations.

These immigrants have come from all over the world. You know that the people of every country live in their own unique way — the English, French, Germans, Russians, Chinese, Indians, all peoples. Each people speaks its own language. Each builds houses and manufactures, transports, and sells goods in its own peculiar way. Each has its own ways of government, its own standard of living. The customs, interests, and recreations of each are unlike those of any other country. In short, each people has a *culture* of its own. It is clear, therefore, that the immigrants who come to America bring their own ways of living to the United States.

¹ In beginning the study of this problem you should review quickly the facts of immigrant and community life. These have been presented in *An Introduction to American Civilization* (Chaps. V and XX), Chapter IV of this present volume, and scattered material in *A History of American Civilization*.

Thus the presence of millions of foreign-born creates two difficult problems:

1. To teach immigrants the fine things of American life.
2. To learn from immigrants the fine things in their own culture.

What has happened in America since so many foreign-born people have come here to live? In 1790, as you have learned,



FIG. 216. Immigrants looking toward the Statue of Liberty, beyond which their new country lies

more than 90 per cent of the people were of British descent. Already, as a result of nearly 200 years on the North American continent, they had produced a new, American way of life. Then, after 1840, came great numbers of Germans; after 1870, great numbers of Scandinavians; and after 1890, millions of Italians, Slavs, Russians, Jews, and Mexicans, — all mixing with the British, the first arrivals. Each nationality brought with it its own native customs and interests, standards, ways of living — in short, its native culture. Each

presented the twofold problem we are considering. Each had to be somewhat Americanized in order to become a true part of American life, and each one had something to give to our culture. It was impossible that America could be the same country after such a mighty mixing of races and nationalities. As a result, in the 1930's a totally new civilization is emerging.

Let us study briefly one example that shows how the culture of an entire region has changed as a result of immigration. New England is, perhaps, the best single region for this purpose.

"THE CONQUEST OF NEW ENGLAND BY THE IMMIGRANT"

An example to show how the culture of an entire region
has changed as a result of immigration

For 300 years immigrants arrived in the region known as New England and settled there. From the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth to the beginning of the World War every decade marked the coming of new immigrants from Europe. Throughout the first 200 years most of these newcomers came from England. "New England" was then a fitting name for the section.

For a half-century following the Revolution, the population of New England was essentially English. It is true that, after 1810, the Industrial Revolution began in America, starting in New England and increasing the demand for skilled labor. There it was, especially in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, that the textile, shoe, and other industries grew rapidly before the Civil War. Mills, factories, roads, and railroads were also being built. As a result, many French Canadians moved into the section and quite a number of Irish and other people from Northern Europe settled in the cities and towns. Some from Nova Scotia and Scotland joined the ever growing number of workers who toiled in the new mills side by side with the children of the older New England families. But the population was still largely of English origin.

Then in the late 1840's tens of thousands of Irish immigrants, forced to leave Ireland by the oppression of their British rulers and by the repeated failure of their crops, crowded through the port of Boston. From 1845 to 1850 this increasing tide of immigrants rapidly changed the population of New England cities and towns. *In the five years between 1845 and 1850 the foreign population of Boston increased 70 per cent, while the native population decreased 2 per cent.* In the year 1850 alone, 38,000 foreigners entered the United States through the port of Boston. Year after year the stream of immigrants increased. By 1855 the population of the city of Boston had so completely changed that only 47 per cent were native-born, and 53 per cent were of foreign birth.

The same condition was true in other cities of Massachusetts

in 1855. Table LII shows that in each of four leading cities more than half of the population was foreign-born; in Lawrence the proportion approached three fourths.

Not only in Massachusetts but also in Connecticut and Rhode Island the immigrant settled, chiefly in the manufacturing cities. To a lesser extent he gradually found his way up into Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont.

Then came the Civil War and the period of reconstruction after it. As you know, by 1870 the great era of industrial expansion

TABLE LII

| PER CENT OF TOTAL POPULATION (OF FOUR MASSACHUSETTS CITIES) WHO WERE FOREIGN-BORN (1855) | |
|--|----|
| Lawrence | 72 |
| Roxbury | 64 |
| Fall River | 60 |
| Boston | 53 |

sion and of the settlement of the region west of the Mississippi was under way. As this happened, the increasing immigration of the seventies and eighties tended to move westward. Correspondingly, a smaller proportion of the newcomers

from Europe settled in New England, and the communities of New England were given an opportunity to Americanize the immigrants who had settled there earlier.

This Americanizing began as the foreign-born people adopted the customs of native Americans. For example, as the newcomers settled in American communities and went to work in factories and trades, they learned to speak English, use American money, live in American houses, eat American food, and wear American clothing. Thus they adopted certain external American ways of living. Outwardly, at least, they became Americans rather than Irishmen, Scotchmen, or French Canadians. Most of them became American citizens and took part in the government of the community and the nation.

Furthermore, as the years went by most of their children went to American public schools. There they learned to speak and read and write English correctly; they learned the history of the United States and much about its ideals and principles. The young people grew up and intermarried with the children of native Americans. As more years passed *their* children were born and grew up as true native Americans. Thus we see that in two generations (that is, in 50 or 60 years) Americanization had taken

place quite completely. These grandchildren of the immigrants were as American as were any other natives.

Even by 1880 the proportion of foreign-born in New England had markedly declined. In Massachusetts and Rhode Island only about one fourth of the entire population were foreign-born; in Connecticut, one fifth; in New Hampshire and Vermont, one eighth; in Maine, one eleventh. Furthermore, a large proportion of the immigration up to that time had come from the British Isles. In 1880 less than 2 per cent of the foreign-born in New England were born outside of the British Empire; even by 1890 less than 10 per cent came from other parts of the world. New England was still well named.

Then the old immigration of northwestern Europe declined, and the new immigration of eastern and southern Europe arose by leaps and bounds. You remember the startling story of the change after 1900. Almost 1,000,000 immigrants arrived in the United States each year between 1900 and the beginning of the World War, the vast majority of whom were Slavs, Italians, and Jews.

Thus after 1900 the Anglo-Saxon culture began to be thoroughly changed by the coming in of hundreds of thousands of Italians, Poles, Greeks, Russians, Hungarians, Finns, Lithuanians, and Turks. These immigrants crowded into Eastern industrial towns and cities, of which there are more than 700 in New England alone. There they worked in the textile mills, in the boot-and-shoe factories, in the machine industries, and in shops in which hardware, guns, ammunition, hats, clocks, and many other things are manufactured. Even by 1905 from 75,000 to 100,000 foreigners from eastern and southern Europe were entering these New England factories and mills each year. Let us note a few examples of the transformation of the population which came about after 1900.

Bridgeport, Connecticut, numbered 71,000 people in 1900; in 1920 it numbered 143,000, divided among twenty nationalities. Forty-eight thousand were of Russian, Hungarian, or Italian blood; other considerable groups were made up of Germans, Swedes, and Austrians.

In 1920 the population of New Bedford and Fall River, Massa-

chusetts, combined with that of all the communities of Rhode Island, totaled 850,000. Six hundred and seventeen thousand of these were either foreign-born or of foreign parentage. More Italians were living there than in many of the large towns and cities of Italy and more Portuguese than in most of the towns of Portugal.

Or consider the metropolitan district in and about Boston. In 1920 there were 1,394,000 people living there. Of these 982,000 (approximately three fourths) were either foreign-born or of foreign or mixed foreign and native parentage. Approximately one sixth of the entire population of greater Boston was Italian and Jewish. Although in 1800 only 24,000 persons lived in Boston, in 1920 there were that many Swedes alone in the city.

This conquest of New England by the immigrant after 1900 was revealed in the small towns and villages as well as in the great manufacturing cities. Consider a few examples from the census of 1920:

Dudley, Massachusetts, a farming village of 4373 inhabitants; three quarters were foreign-born.

Adams, Massachusetts, with a total population of 13,000; foreign-born and children of foreign-born, 10,000.

Webster, Massachusetts, with a total population of 13,000; foreign-born and children of foreign-born, 10,000.

Maynard, Massachusetts, which almost overlooks the site of the famous battle of Concord; in 1920 foreigners outnumbered natives six to one.

Thus the population was transformed as manufacturing industries developed, as native New Englanders moved West, as the families of native New Englanders grew smaller and immigrants poured in. It is, of course, in the factory towns and cities of New England that the greatest number of the immigrants are found.

Not all the immigrants went to the cities and towns, however. Even before 1890 some took up the farms left by the native Americans on their westward march. Since that time, there has been an increasing "back to the soil" movement in New England. But the new immigrants, not the old natives, are reclaiming the worn-out soil. The Poles, the Russians, the Finns, and the

Italians are becoming the new American farmers of New England. Many of them came from the country districts of Europe. They were used to hard work, used to wresting a living from the soil. These tireless workers are now reviving New England's agriculture. As a result of their efforts farming villages, which had all but died, began again to prosper even before the World War. So great a contribution have these immigrants made that New England is now increasing its agricultural products at a faster rate than any other section of the country, according to recent reports.

So it was that the *population* in one important section of the country was built up and changed generation after generation by immigration from Europe.

Was the *culture* of the people affected? Yes, slowly, until about 1900; after that with great rapidity. As long as the immigration continued to be small, as long as only a few thousand Russians, Italians, Jews, and other nationalities settled in the region each year, the newcomers were easily absorbed into the general population. Their presence was felt very little indeed.

But when the numbers became great, immigrants became an important part of the life of New England communities. Today, as a result, it is not too much to say that the immigrants or their children play the leading part in New England industrial labor. In some sections they are also conquering the soil and rebuilding the farms. The children of immigrants attend American schools and in some sections form the largest part of the attendance. In Manchester, New Hampshire, for example, nine tenths of the children in three of the largest schools come from homes in which a foreign language is spoken. As the families of immigrants continue large while those of native New Englanders grow smaller and smaller, the influence of the newcomer becomes increasingly great.

Is it not probable, therefore, that the newer immigrants will play a large part in determining the culture of the people of America?

IMMIGRATION HAS CHANGED OTHER PARTS OF THE
COUNTRY, TOO

Space is lacking for an account of the influence of the immigrant in other sections of the United States. We can merely recall from our earlier studies the manner in which the entire industrial zone was transformed. From the Atlantic to the Mississippi River, from Canada to the Ohio, millions of immigrants settled in the cities and manufacturing towns. As a result, in the industrial zone and in other regions in the West and the South an increasing proportion of the population was made up of foreign-born or of the children of foreign-born. We need not multiply examples, however. The illustrations already presented emphasize the importance of the problem of assimilating immigrants into American life.

As we said at the beginning of the chapter, the problem is twofold: first, how can we teach the incoming immigrants the fine things in American life; second, how can we learn from them the fine things that they bring in their own culture?

These are the two fundamental population problems before the American people. These you as Americans must help to solve in years to come. In the few remaining pages of this book, therefore, let us consider these problems briefly.

WHAT, THEN, IS THE REAL PROBLEM OF ASSIMILATING
IMMIGRANTS INTO AMERICAN LIFE?

Imagine the bewildered frame of mind of the Slav, the Italian, the Jew, or the newcomer from any other strange land who settles in the United States. He arrives in the hubbub of a great strange port, San Francisco, Seattle, New York, or New Orleans, unable to speak the language spoken about him, unacquainted with the customs of the people, perhaps even dressed in an outlandish way. He has come to the Land of Hope and Opportunity, eager to find a place to work, to build a home, to settle permanently. But he cannot speak enough English to ask directions for travel, to use the telephone, to purchase food, or to find work. Even employment agencies are hidden mysteries. Thus he is blocked at every turn.

What must the immigrant do to become a fine American? This is a very difficult question and probably no complete answer can be given. Nevertheless certain necessary steps can be stated. The important ones are the following :

1. Learn to speak, read, and write the language with real fluency and understanding. This will necessitate constant conversation with native Americans and reading of newspapers, magazines, and books. As a



FIG. 217. Foreign-born women newly arrived in the land of their adoption. It may be years before they are Americanized. Perhaps they will never be thoroughly American

result, after many years an immigrant might come to think and feel about American life much as a native American would feel. To do so, however, he should

2. Live in a thoroughly representative American neighborhood of his community — a necessity if one is to learn to speak the language with the same meaning and feeling as a native American does. We have already learned, however, that a large proportion of the immigrants live in separated "colonies" in our cities or in thoroughly immigrant rural villages. Hence we see the difficulty of carrying out this necessary step.

3. Adopt American styles of clothing, houses, diet, and the like. No doubt this step is less important than learning the language and living in representative native American neighborhoods. Nevertheless, even these external things play a part in determining personal culture; if one adopts American customs in these respects, there is a somewhat greater probability that one will think and feel more like an American.

4. Join social organizations, churches, and schools in which native Americans are found in large numbers. Such organizations will definitely help the real assimilation of the immigrant.

5. Become naturalized, that is, become a citizen of the United States, and as such exercise the right to vote, to hold office, and otherwise to take part in the government of the community, the state, and the nation. This, perhaps, is the clearest evidence of the intention of the immigrant to become a real American.

These, then, are some of the steps immigrants should take to become tolerant, understanding, and coöperating citizens. That they are not easy to carry out we have seen in the earlier discussions in these books. As you know, little isolated "European" communities still exist in our cities and villages from New England to California, from Minnesota to Texas. Even today there are hundreds of communities in which only Italian, Slovak, Polish, Yiddish, or other foreign languages are spoken.

Within these communities, there may be an apparent outward assimilation. Many immigrants adopt our clothing almost immediately on arrival. The gay colored dresses, shawls, and vests, bands and feathers on hats — all these are discarded, and the conventional dress of the United States is adopted. The younger men, who have been accustomed to wearing long hair or beards, cut their hair short and shave off their beards. Many also adopt the American diet, although on holidays, at religious celebrations and other festivals, the foods of their native land are eaten.

Then, too, most of the newcomers learn to speak a few hundred words of English within a short time after their arrival here. Gradually, as the years pass, these "first-generation Americans" learn to converse in English, although very few succeed in dropping the characteristic accents of their native tongues. Many of them attend adult evening schools, where they learn English and something of the history of the United States and of the ideals and customs of our people.

But these are only outward signs of adopting the new ways of living. Are these immigrants really assimilated into the new country? To be assimilated they must think and feel as Americans; they must have a whole-hearted interest in the government of the country and must be tolerant of its ideals and institutions.



FIG. 218. Ludwig Lewisohn

A family of German immigrants settled in a small village in North Carolina in 1890. With them was their eight-year-old son, Ludwig Lewisohn, who still remembers his delight in certain gifts the New World gave him — a percussion-cap pistol, a jew's-harp, and a mouth organ. In the village the boy began his education and his Americanization. He says that at fifteen he "was an American, a Southerner, and a Christian. . . . My Americanization . . . was complete." When the family moved to a larger city he continued his education in high school, in college, and later at Columbia University. He became an instructor in German at the University of Wisconsin, and then an assistant professor at Ohio State University, all the time writing articles, stories, and books. Lewisohn has contributed to many magazines, and is now a contributing editor to *The Nation*. The books he has written include *The Modern Drama*, *Up Stream* (a vivid autobiography), *Cities and Men*, and *Roman Summer*. He is also a well-known lecturer on the drama and poetry

In 1869 a six-year-old Dutch boy, Edward William Bok, was brought to the United States. For a few years he went to a public school in Brooklyn, New York, leaving at thirteen to become a Western Union office boy. Bok continued his education at night school, however, and soon entered other enterprises. He edited the *Brooklyn Magazine*, worked for Henry Holt and Company, organized the Bok Syndicate Press, worked for Charles Scribner's Sons, edited the *Ladies' Home Journal* from 1889 to 1919. As editor of the latter, he attempted to follow the advice given him by his grandmother: "Make you the world a bit more beautiful and better because you have been in it." *The Ladies' Home Journal* did much to raise the standards of cooking, nursing, architecture, and furniture in many homes, and also fought harmful patent medicines and other quackeries. His *Americanization of Edward Bok* won the 1920 Pulitzer prize for the best biography of the year. Bok died in 1930

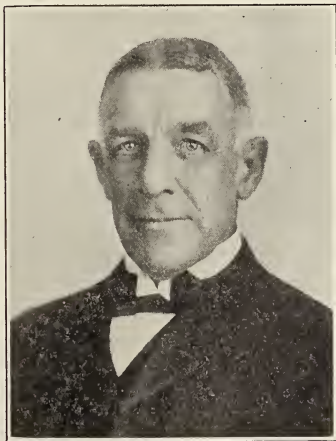


FIG. 219. Edward William Bok

Does assimilation ever completely take place in the first generation? Assume that all the foregoing steps were taken by an immigrant. That is, he learned to speak, read, and write the English language; he lived in a representative American neighborhood; he adopted American clothing, houses, and food. He joined American organizations, churches, and schools, and he actively fulfilled his obligations as a citizen of the country. Would he really be *American*? Perhaps. If *all* the foregoing circumstances occurred, no doubt he would be a very helpful member of American society. As you can see from the autobiographical sketches on page 563 and on following pages, many immigrants have come to America and have not only become coöperating Americans but have also become important leaders. They have added much that is new and good to American culture.

Nevertheless, the task of learning a new language, adopting new customs, understanding and accepting new ideas and ideals of government, is an exceedingly difficult one. Many immigrants live most of their lives here without entirely giving up loyalty to their native lands. Many still cling to old customs and standards, read native newspapers, and hope constantly that some day they can return to their own countries. One Russian immigrant who returned home from America told the reasons why.

I'll tell you. I had a strange dream. I saw my father, who is, as you know, dead long since and in his grave, and I saw a figure of St. Serge — St. Serge was his angel — and both lifted their arms and pointed to the East. I knew it was the East because there was a great red sunset behind them, and they pointed right away from it, in the other direction. When I wakened up I remembered this, and it made a great impression on me. . . . At last I decided to start for home. The idea that I might die in America and be buried there was always pricking me. I am not American. The American God won't take me when I die. . . . I am Russian. Mother Russia! she is mine. They may keep you down and oppress you there, but the land is holy, and men are brothers.¹

In the German paper *Germania*, published in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, was printed a poem which shows the feeling that remains with some German immigrants.

¹ Stephen Graham, *With Poor Immigrants to America*, pp. 155-156. By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers, New York, 1914.

O, if I could hear again
 In German forests, green and cool,
 The birds in May, and dream beside
 The black wood pool.
 O, to find and smell again
 Wood violets meek,
 To fall asleep on woodlawn mosses,
 The Rhineland's breezes on my cheek.¹

Thus in many instances complete assimilation into American life does not take place throughout the lives of the first-generation immigrants. Usually, however, assimilation is fairly well completed by the end of the second generation; that is, the children of immigrants generally become a true part of the American people. One writer illustrates this fact. He tells of a mother and German-born father who attempted to teach their children the German language.

Mr. and Mrs. B—— did their best, but they failed. They spoke German to the children from an early age — at least, when they remembered that this was what they had decided to do. But the children only listened in German; they *would* reply in English. The children all went to the high-school, and there they studied German, which they disliked as much as most American children dislike it, and with about the same result. Later they went to the university, and there also they studied German, and learned about as much of it as other American boys and girls learn. And the end of it all is that, in spite of the best of opportunities and the best of intentions, the children of Mr. and Mrs. B—— cannot readily speak ten connected sentences of good German. If they should visit Hanover they probably could not hold intelligible converse with their grandparents and cousins. They are as much Americans as if their ancestors had come over on the *Mayflower*!²

¹ Quoted in Robert E. Park's *Immigrant Press and its Control* (p. 140) and reprinted herewith by permission of Carnegie Corporation of New York.

² Carl Becker, *The United States: an Experiment in Democracy*, pp. 244-245. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1920.

ONE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM OF ASSIMILATION: EDUCATING THE IMMIGRANT

One need of the immigrant is clear — education. Education, first, to give him a knowledge of our language that he may hold a job, establish a home, make friends, and travel about easily. Education, also, to aid him in becoming truly a part of the American people. He needs education that he may learn the im-

TABLE LIII¹

| ILLITERACY OF FOREIGN-BORN PERSONS IN THE UNITED STATES | | |
|---|-----------|-----------|
| | 1910 | 1920 |
| Unable to read or write | | |
| English | 4,544,000 | 4,000,000 |
| Unable to speak English . | 2,953,000 | 1,489,000 |
| Unable to read or write any language | 1,650,000 | 1,764,000 |

portant facts of American history, that he may understand current changes and current events in American life, and that he may learn about our government and about the ideals and aims of our people.

As long as the immigrant reads, speaks, and *thinks* only in the language of his native land, he can never become truly American. Thus an understanding of the English language and the ability to read and write it are of great importance.

Table LIII shows that a real problem of illiteracy (inability to read and write) of the foreign-born still exists in the United States.

In 1910 there were nearly 3,000,000 foreign-born persons who were unable to speak our language. By 1920, although the number had been reduced almost one-half, there were still about 1,500,000 unable to speak English. The problem of the Americanization of the foreign-born, therefore, was (and is) a very serious one, and many agencies have been established to help solve it. Let us discuss the chief ones briefly.

1. *Schools for grown-up immigrants.* In our larger cities schools, churches, factories, settlement houses, libraries, and hotels have become centers for immigrant classes in English, American history, civics, and the like. Most of these are night schools. Some of our immigrants learn English very quickly be-

¹ Adapted from Arthur E. Wood's *Community Problems*, p. 449. Copyright, 1928, by The Century Co.



FIG. 220. Charles Proteus Steinmetz

One of the world's greatest electrical geniuses, Charles Proteus Steinmetz, was born in Breslau, Germany, in 1865. After taking various preparatory courses, he decided to make mathematics, higher chemistry, and electricity his life's work. While still a young man, his activities as a Socialist got him into trouble, and he was forced to leave Germany. He went first to Switzerland, emigrating to the United States a year later, in 1889. Here he finally became consulting engineer for the General Electric Company . . . accepted a professorship in electrical engineering at Union College, Schenectady . . . worked with the Phoenix research laboratories. He died in 1923. His greatest contributions to science were the "step-up" and the "step-down" transformer of alternating-current electricity, which made possible the transmission of electric power over long distances; the discovery of important laws of electricity; and the invention of various motors used in cheap car-lighting, quick elevator service, and perfected street-lighting. Steinmetz made also many other important inventions, and had about 200 patents to his credit

One day in 1874 a sixteen-year-old Serbian schoolboy, Michael Pupin (born in Idvor, Hungary) sold his watch, his books, and most of his clothes. With the proceeds and the money from his small monthly allowances he came to America, arriving with only five cents in his pocket. He worked at odd jobs . . . learned English . . . decided to get an education and become a scientist . . . saved his money . . . went to night school . . . entered Columbia University . . . worked his way through and graduated in 1883. Pupin later studied in Cambridge, England, and at the University of Berlin. Then, within fifteen years of his arrival in the United States, he became an instructor at Columbia University, where he is now professor of electro-mechanics. He has made many important inventions. For example, whenever you hear clearly over the long-distance telephone it is owing in part to Pupin's researches, which made possible the elimination of interfering noises. He has also invented improvements in X-ray equipment, and has made other important contributions to science

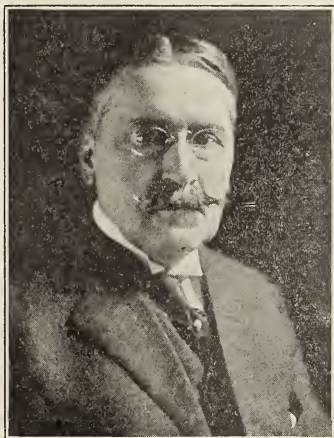


FIG. 221. Michael Idvorsky Pupin

cause they already know how to speak, read, and write in one or more foreign languages. Others learn more slowly, as they have never learned to read or write even in their own language. It has been estimated, however, that even this latter group can "acquire a good working knowledge of 600 English words, ease in reading common prose [such as is found in newspapers, popular magazines, work instructions, etc.], legible penmanship, and knowledge of simple arithmetic"¹ if they attend one-hour classes five times a week for twelve weeks. Textbooks are sometimes printed both in the native language and in English to speed up the learning of the new language.

In special classes, women workers are taught practical subjects, such as American standards of personal cleanliness and our system of money. They are also taught how to telegraph, telephone, send letters and packages, how to choose, cook, and serve American foods, how to care for injured persons, and how to make out work reports. The students learn the geography of their adopted country, and the ideals of American democracy through study of the lives of national heroes. They learn also how to become citizens and the rights and obligations of citizens. In one such class of immigrant girls their efficiency in work was raised from 20 to 70 per cent, interest in their work grew, and their earnings were considerably increased. The health of the girls improved also.

In Chicago, classes were organized for immigrant men who work at night. The school is open all day, and the men may attend as many hours as they feel able.

This work of the immigrant schools for grown-ups, however, has been handicapped by such factors as (1) the lack of suitable teachers who speak foreign languages, (2) the great distances of immigrant living quarters from the schools, and (3) the fatigue and lack of energy of the immigrants themselves. In spite of these difficulties, however, the schools are doing a most important work in helping to assimilate our foreign-born people.

2. *How libraries help in the work of Americanization.* As the immigrant learns how to read, public libraries begin to help in

¹ "The Workers' Class," in *Handbook on Americanization*, p. 217, edited by Winthrop Talbot. By permission of The H. W. Wilson Company, New York, 1920.

his Americanization. They are open day and night, and the foreign-born of all ages and both sexes are encouraged to come to them. If the immigrant man, woman, or child needs help in choosing books, this help is freely given. Newspapers and magazines provide the immigrant with reading material which he can understand, and inform him of current happenings and trends in our American civilization. In many libraries he can get the books of his own land, printed in his native language, as well as many good American books in translation. In Cleveland the library also organizes

parties and entertainments in which the foreign-born groups themselves are encouraged to supply the programs. Thus their self-confidence is aroused and they are made to feel themselves a really valued part of the community.¹

These library workers also coöperate with the neighborhood churches. Thus the work of Americanization goes on.

3. *Some employers aid the work of Americanization.* You have just learned how school systems coöperate with employers in the work of educating the foreign-born. Employers sometimes do this work independently of the schools. In the following example you will see how one such experiment resulted in benefit both to employer and to employees.

In a steel plant in Ohio . . . hundreds of Magyars have worked for some years. When first they came, they were undesirable in many ways, but the superintendent felt that it was his privilege to give these men something more than the market wage. He entered into their life, became a member of their lodge, advised them as to their investments, put his name down as a charter member of their church, loaned them money at a nominal interest, built them a hall, called experts in to plan amusements, educational work, and lectures. This sympathetic and intelligent agency has been at work for some years, and the following is the manager's testimony: "After twelve years' experience our works have gathered together a splendid force of men. We started with a small reading room, had competent instructors in English, and found it necessary to build a larger building. . . . [The men] have succeeded in building two churches, have a number of beneficial societies, and I want to say to you that they are better citizens and better workmen. . . .

¹ Arthur E. Wood, *Community Problems*, p. 465. Copyright, 1928, by The Century Co.

While we have expended quite a large amount . . . [for the work] we find that it is one of the best assets we have."¹

In another community, centered around a foundry in which foreign-born people work, the employers help to keep the houses in repair. Each family has a garden, and prizes are given for the "best garden or the best yard or the best flowers." The result of these small prizes is good-natured competition and pride in the appearance of homes and gardens. The library, furnished by one of the local families, is a center to which the workers come to learn English for reading and recreation and to learn something of the ideas and ideals of American life. Do you think that employers who make their workers happier, healthier, more content and "at home" in their adopted land help in the work of Americanization, too?

4. *Social organizations are helping to assimilate the foreign-born.* Women's clubs, patriotic societies, neighborhood associations, and other organizations such as the Y. M. C. A. and the Educational Alliance (Hebrew) also extend help of many kinds. What can be done through these agencies is illustrated by the following episode :

Michael Wisniewski, a Pole, came to Pittsburgh. He presented his card, printed in Polish, at the association building, and the immigration secretary gave him attention. He helped him to find his friends and, in two days, was able to find him a job in one of the mills. He was then put into a class for the study of English, which was located nearest the place where he lived. The man was thus tied up to friends whom he could trust, and to these he came in all his difficulties. He wanted to send money to the homeland, write letters to his family, and ask advice about his work and various other topics, and the service was freely given.²

Labor organizations too bring the immigrant and the American-born together. Here better understanding of American industrial and political problems is reached through the discussions which take place among the workers. Through trade unions

¹ Adapted from Peter Roberts's *New Immigration* (by permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers, New York, 1920), pp. 107-108.

² Peter Roberts, *The New Immigration*, pp. 313-314. By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers, New York, 1920.

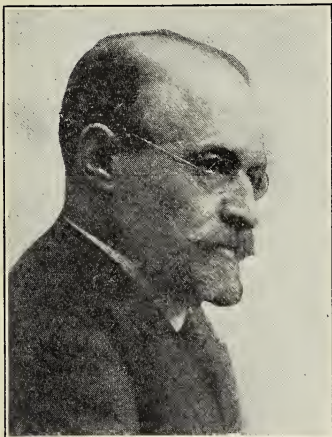


FIG. 222. Edward A. Steiner

Edward A. Steiner, sociologist, was born in Czechoslovakia in 1866. As a youth he came to America in the steerage — an experience he never forgot. In later years he exposed the worst evils of the steerage and did much to abolish them. When he arrived in the United States, he worked as a presser of coats, as a cutter in a clothing shop, as a laborer in steel mills, in coal mines, in harvest fields. Finally he attended a theological school and was ordained to the Congregational ministry. After several years as a minister, he was engaged by *The Outlook* to write a life of Tolstoy. After some time abroad, he returned to become professor of applied Christianity at Grinnell College. He is now a well-known preacher, lecturer, and writer, dealing especially with immigration problems. He writes for "an understanding of and a brotherly attitude toward the immigrant" in such books as *On the Trail of the Immigrant*, *The Broken Wall*, *From Alien to Citizen*, *The Immigrant Tide*, and *Old Trails and New Borders*.

One of our outstanding ambassadors, Henry Morgenthau, was born in Germany in 1856. In 1865 he, with his parents and their thirteen other children, emigrated to America. Morgenthau was educated in the public schools, in the College of the City of New York, and in Columbia University. He practiced law for 21 years, then went into the real-estate business, founded and helped support the Bronx House settlement, and was appointed ambassador to Turkey in 1913. As ambassador, he distinguished himself by his efficient way of handling affairs of state, especially after the World War was declared. At that time he used his influence to get the Allied ambassadors and the foreign residents safely out of Constantinople. In other matters also he acted wisely. Upon his return to the United States he told a delegation that met him: "I went there every inch an American; every bit to protect American ideas, and therefore I met the various representatives of countries who came to see me, on an equal basis"



FIG. 223. Henry Morgenthau

such as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers help is given the immigrant in learning the new language and in training for citizenship.

Clubs already established by older immigrants further the work of Americanization, too, as the following episode shows :

In Brockton, Mass., a flourishing Lithuanian Education Society is found . . . an effort made by a band of patriotic men to lead the foreign-born brother into sympathetic relationship with America. The work started by classes in English, lectures on American history, talks on how the people rule, travelogues through America and the opportunities the land offers, lectures on the industries of America and where they were located, etc. The Lithuanian leaders believed in the honesty of purpose of the native-born and heartily endorsed their plans. They encouraged their people to attend and the result is as intelligent a club of foreign-speaking men, most of whom are electors, as can be found in the country. They have erected a building to be dedicated wholly to education, and to perpetuate the work so wisely started by men who had faith in the foreigner.¹

Approximately 1,000,000 Slavs are members of organizations in the United States. In these organizations the newly arrived immigrant has a fine opportunity to meet fellow countrymen who have lived here longer and who have perhaps even become American citizens in feeling as well as in fact.

5. *State and city governments are also helping the assimilation of the foreign-born.* A most notable program of work is being carried on by the state of California. In 1913 that state organized a Commission on Immigration and Housing. The object of the commission was to help the immigrant find employment and a place for himself and his family in the state, to improve his housing conditions, and to protect him against fraud and dishonesty. In 1915 a law was passed to establish classes for adult immigrants, to supply teachers who would instruct foreign parents and their children in American ways of living, and to aid adult immigrants in preparing for their privileges and duties as future American citizens. By 1925 nearly 50,000 immigrants had been enrolled throughout California, and more than a thousand day and night classes were in session.

¹ Peter Roberts, *The New Immigration*, p. 186. By permission of The Macmillan Company, New York, 1920.

By 1924 eleven states in the industrial zone, where the immigrant population is greatest, had provided for the education of adult immigrants. Through these programs the recommendations of such national departments of the government as the Naturalization Bureau and the Federal Office of Education can be carried out in the communities of the state.

Thus through the schools, the libraries, employers, organizations, and state and municipal agencies many foreigners are receiving education of one sort or another, and are understanding American customs, institutions, and ideals more clearly.

ANOTHER IMPORTANT STEP IN ASSIMILATING THE IMMIGRANT: MAKING HIM A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES

Americans have long believed that one of the most important ways of making the immigrant a true part of American life is to induce him to become a citizen of the United States. It is maintained that when this happens the immigrant accepts the United States as his permanent home and develops a sense of loyalty to it. He speaks of Americans as "we" rather than as "you" or "they."

Citizenship is not granted to every alien who comes to the United States. Furthermore, certain requirements must be fulfilled before the privileges of citizenship can be acquired. Briefly stated they are as follows:

First, before an officer of a court having jurisdiction in the matter the foreigner must fill out a statement known as his "first papers." In this he declares his intention of becoming a citizen of the United States and renounces his allegiance to all foreign countries, including especially the country of which he is at the time a citizen. These first papers can be filed at any time after his arrival in America, if he is at least eighteen years of age.

Second, he must reside in the United States at least two years after filing his first papers. One year of this residence must have been in the state in which he files his papers.

Third, after five years of continuous residence in the country and two years since the filing of his first papers, he must go before a court and file a signed paper petitioning the government to be

made a citizen. In this he must state that he is not a polygamist, that he is not opposed to organized government, and that he renounces his allegiance to his former country. This petition must be witnessed by two citizens of the United States who certify to the truth of his statements concerning residence, and who swear to his good moral character and attachment to the principles of the American Constitution.

Fourth, before finally being declared a citizen he must have resided in the United States at least five years. After 90 days following the filing of the petition mentioned above, he is examined by a court. It determines whether he can read and write, whether he knows something of American history and of the Constitution, and whether he believes in the principles of American democracy. When the court is satisfied that he has conformed in every detail to the requirements for citizenship, a "certificate of naturalization" is issued. With this the applicant becomes a citizen of the United States.¹

These are the steps through which the immigrant is brought permanently into the family of citizens in America. No doubt most of those who take these steps become as loyal and coöperating members of American society as their native-born neighbors. We should bear in mind, however, what we have already learned about the difficulties of changing one's earlier customs and interests. Questions arise concerning the extent to which naturalized citizens really become assimilated into American life. These we must consider in our later studies.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PROBLEM OF ASSIMILATION — WHAT THE IMMIGRANT CONTRIBUTES TO AMERICAN CULTURE

It is of the greatest importance to remember, however, that the problem of assimilating the immigrant is twofold. As we have seen, not only must he be Americanized; we, on our side, must learn the fine things that he brings to us.

¹ Excepting Chinese, Japanese, and Hindus, persons born and living in any country or region in the world can become citizens of the United States on conforming to the foregoing requirements. Thus only three groups are excluded. As you continue your high-school studies no doubt you will wish to consider the important question, Why should these three be barred?

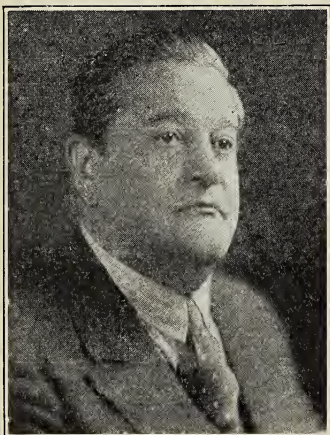


FIG. 224. Joseph Urban

Joseph Urban, architect and artist, was born in Vienna, Austria, in 1872. His father wanted him to be a lawyer, but discovered, after paying for tuition and textbooks for two years at law school, that Joseph had been studying art instead of law, going to the Academy in the mornings and to the Polytechnic in the afternoons. When he was 23 he got his first commission, which was to decorate the Abdin Palace at Cairo for the Khedive of Egypt. On his return to Austria he designed a castle for Count Carl Esterházy, the interior of the municipal building in Vienna, the Czar bridge over the Neva. In 1911 he came to the United States to become art director of the Boston Opera House. In 1917 he became an American citizen. He worked for the moving pictures and is now well known for his stage sets for the Ziegfeld Follies and for the productions of the Metropolitan Opera. He has also returned at times to architecture, and has designed many homes and public buildings

A poor immigrant upon his arrival in the United States in 1893, a famous theatrical producer in 1931 — that is the story of Morris Gest, who was born in Russia in 1881. He began his theatrical work in Boston, and since then has produced more than 50 plays. Many of them have been very well known; for instance, *The Wanderer* (1917), *Chu Chin Chow* (1918), *Aphrodite* (1919), and *Mecca* (1920). Each of these had the distinction of being the largest production ever presented at the time it was staged. Gest has also made other important contributions to the theater. He brought the original Russian ballet here, introduced the famous Russian ballet master Michel Fokine to America, staged Balieff's *Chauve-Souris*, which was popular throughout the country, reintroduced Eleonora Duse to the theater-loving public in 1923-1924, in a repertory of five plays, brought Max Reinhardt, famous Austrian producer, to the United States to stage *The Miracle*. Thus Morris Gest, another of the foreign-born in the United States, has made valuable contributions to American culture

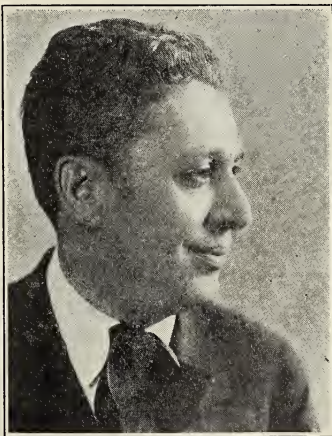


FIG. 225. Morris Gest

Indeed, if we think of the history of America as three centuries of immigration, which it really is, we realize that American life has been made up very largely from the culture that Europeans brought with them from their native lands. As we have already learned, the history of 150 years of colonial life was essentially the story of the establishment of British customs and ways of living on the Atlantic coastal plain of North America. Of course these customs were changed greatly to meet the requirements of the new continent, but they were essentially British.

Furthermore, in the 1840's and 1850's the Irish and Germans came in large numbers, and in the 1870's and 1880's the Scandinavians. Each of the individuals and groups that comprised this immigration brought new ideas, new customs, new kinds of music, literature, and folk lore, new ideas about architecture, painting, sculpture, and the theater. Thus the immigrant, in every decade of American history, added new things to our changing American culture.

Similarly, the Negro, throughout 300 years of history, brought new things to us. Although at first he was only a domestic and agricultural slave, nevertheless, he too gradually added to the changing culture of America. More than all the immigrants put together, for example, he contributed to our folk songs, to the new music which is becoming so prevalent today, and to our vaudeville and musical stage.

WHAT DO IMMIGRANTS CONTRIBUTE TO AMERICAN CULTURE?

1. They do much of our manual work

If you have forgotten the important contribution that the immigrant makes to a high physical standard of living, review the facts presented in *An Introduction to American Civilization*. Then look at figure 226, which shows the important part the immigrant plays in supplying what we eat, what we wear, and what we use in our homes. From one fourth to three fourths of all the workers in these basic industries are foreign-born. Another important fraction are children of foreign-born parents. From the

facts in the graph, then, we can say that practically three fourths of the workers in such basic industries as iron and steel, coal, oil, meat-packing, clothing and textiles, are either foreign-born or the children of foreign-born. Furthermore, it is the immigrant who does the hardest and most dangerous work in our great industries. It is essentially the immigrant who digs our subways, builds the foundations of our bridges, maintains our railroad tracks, builds our roads, and the like. This has been true throughout the history of our national life, and such work is one of the immigrants' most important contributions to us.

2. The immigrants bring interesting Old World customs to America

On the whole, immigrants tend to adopt our American ways of living soon after coming here.

But many of them, as we have seen, also cling to their Old World customs. If one passes through immigrant rural communities of the type described in Chapter IV, for example, one sees many interesting examples of this. Konrad Bercovici, one of our leading immigrants, writes thus of a Czechoslovakian colony :

Outwardly these people live like any of their [American] neighbors. . . . But when one comes nearer to them one realizes how much these people are leading their own lives, how great is the struggle to keep the old traditions . . . On such an occasion as a wedding or a christening the national Czech costume for the bride and groom is the only fitting one.

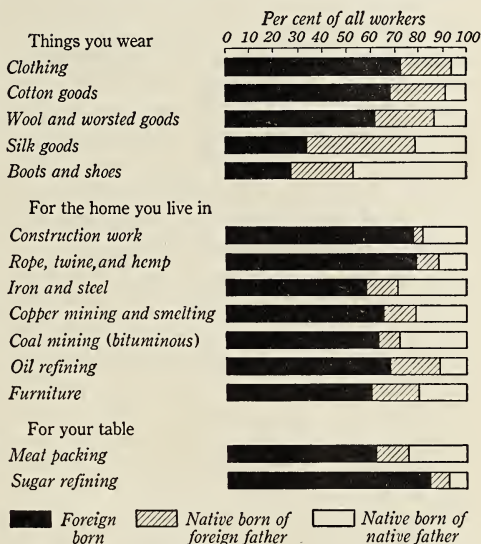


FIG. 226. This graph illustrates how large a proportion of workers in the manufactures and industries of the United States are foreign-born

Almost every house still possesses such costumes, which are beautiful and picturesque. . . . There is not a Czecho-Slovak community but has its own fiddlers.¹

Bercovici also visited a French rural community in which the peasants were living much the same as they had lived in France.

Wild Rice was as French as it possibly could be. . . . The people are happy and contented. It was in Wild Rice that for the first time in many weeks I had heard people singing while they worked. A very old lady, bent over her cabbages, was singing an old Norman song hundreds of years old. From the open windows of the house floated the song of "Au Clair de la Lune," the words badly pronounced but the tune exact. . . . In the outlying fields the men were digging potatoes, and as it was Saturday and the children were not in school, they were all helping the men — their feet incased in wooden shoes, the sabots of Norman origin, to protect them from the wet of the land.²

Polish customs are described by Bercovici as follows :

The Pole is a very good farmer and a very good cattleman, but he believes in doing things as his father and grandfather did them. . . . They are fond of their social life, of gaiety and dancing, and Polish people are proverbial in this country . . . for the curious and ancient customs among them which come to the fore at such celebrations as weddings and christenings. The dowry of the bride is actually given by each inhabitant of the place. The father of the bride provides the dinner; the father of the groom provides the wine and the musicians. At the entrance a large shawl of resplendent old colors is spread, each corner held by a well-known member of the community, and as the guests pass in they throw pieces of silver or dollar bills, each according to his own desire or the degree of his liking for the groom or the bride. It is no rare thing for the total to amount to twelve or fifteen hundred dollars. Nothing is lost by those who give, for in the next week or two the bride or groom will have to do the same thing at the giver's own wedding. It is a sort of coöperative wedding arrangement.³

Stephen Graham, who spent much time among immigrants of various nationalities, describes a Russian Easter festival in New York.

¹ Konrad Bercovici, *On New Shores*, p. 48. Copyright, 1925, by The Century Co.

² Adapted from Konrad Bercovici's *On New Shores*, pp. 75-76. Copyright, 1925, by The Century Co.

³ Konrad Bercovici, *On New Shores*, pp. 124-125. Copyright, 1925, by The Century Co.

I came to the diminutive Russian cathedral in East Ninety-fifth Street on Easter Eve at midnight. . . . I shall never forget the inside of the cathedral at one in the morning, the vociferous singing, the be-shawled peasant girls, the tear-stained faces. Priest after priest came forward and praised the Orthodox Church and the Russian people, and appealed to the worshippers to remember that all over the Russian world the same service was being held, not only in the great cathedrals and monasteries, but in the village churches, in the far-away forest settlements, at the shrines in lonely Arctic islands, in the Siberian wildernesses, on the Urals, in the fastnesses of the Caucasus, on the Asian deserts, in Jerusalem itself. It was pathetic to hear the priests exhort these young men and women to remain Russians — they were all young, and they all or nearly all looked to America as their new home. On all ordinary occasions they longed to be Americans and to be called Americans; but this night a flood of feeling engulfed them, and in the New York night they set sail and looked hungrily to the East whence they came. They held tapers. They had tenderly brought their cakes, their chickens and joints of pork, to be sprinkled with holy water and blessed by the priests for their Easter breakfast. It was sad to surmise how few had really fasted through Lent, and yet to see how they clung to departing tradition.¹

3. The remarkable contribution of the immigrant to the fine arts in America

But perhaps the most important contribution which the immigrant has made to American life has been in the creative arts — in literature, journalism, music, the theater, painting, sculpture, and architecture. Both as a creator of new art and as a fine performer the immigrant has helped to develop our culture into a finer thing. Consider a few convincing examples.

1. *The immigrant and the new American music.* The dependence of Americans upon immigrants for the development of orchestras has been great. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the foreign-born in our midst have been the real leaders in establishing good music in America. Almost every symphony orchestra in the United States is composed chiefly of musicians who are foreign-born or who are children of foreign-born parents. Here,

¹ Stephen Graham, *With Poor Immigrants to America*, pp. 80-81. By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers.

for example, are the first five names from each of four instrument groups of the Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra of New York :

| <i>First Violins</i> | <i>Violas</i> | <i>Second Violins</i> | <i>Basses</i> |
|----------------------|---------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| S. Guidi | R. Pollain | I. Pogany | A. Fortier |
| H. Lange | M. Cores | A. Koszegi | H. Reinshagen |
| A. Lichstein | Z. Kurthy | F. Lowack | D. Rybb |
| M. Muscanto | T. Fishberg | A. Dubensky | E. Zickler |
| R. Henkle | J. J. Kovarik | R. Heinz | M. Tivin |

Or consider the leading orchestra-conductors of our country, past and present : Theodore Thomas, Arturo Toscanini, Wilhelm Mengelberg, Karl Muck, Leopold Stokowski, Walter Damrosch, and Serge Koussevitzky. Name only a few outstanding performers on the piano : Ignace Paderewski, Josef Hofmann, Leo Ornstein, and José Iturbi. All of them came from foreign countries. Some of them made the United States their home for a year or more. Others spent or are spending their lives in our country and are contributing their talents to American culture.

Composers of note who have added to the new music are Percy Grainger (Australian), George Gershwin (son of a Russian-Jewish immigrant), and Irving Berlin (another Russian Jew), composer of many popular songs and of music for musical comedies.

This list of names could be multiplied many times. There is no need of doing so, however, to convince us that foreign-born "Americans" and children of the foreign-born are primarily responsible for the best music we hear in America today.

2. *The immigrant and the American theater.* The theater that has emerged in the United States since 1900 also owes much to the new immigration. It is not too much to say that the stage and the "movies" are today in the hands of persons who are either foreign-born or of foreign parentage. Not only is the theater owned, managed, and directed largely by foreign-born or their descendants, but also much of the acting is done by them. Do not overlook the important part played in the American theater, in the past as well as in the present, by such personalities as Junius Brutus Booth (English), George Arliss (English), Eva Le Gallienne (English), Alla Nazimova (Russian), and "the royal family of Broadway" — the Barrymores (English and Irish).



FIG. 227. Leo Ornstein

In 1907 a family of Russian Jews escaped from the persecutions of the Russian government and emigrated to America. With them on their flight was their twelve-year-old son, Leo Ornstein, who was destined to become one of America's outstanding pianists and composers. Leo began his study of the piano under his father at the age of three. The family settled in New York, where the boy continued his study of music. So great was his talent that in 1911, when he was only sixteen years old, he gave his first public concert. Later he appeared as soloist with the New York Symphony Orchestra and with other great orchestras, and also went on concert tours here and abroad. A composer of note as well as a pianist, Ornstein has written truly American music, two of his best-known compositions being "Marche Funèbre" and "Impressions of Chinatown." He has also written a concerto, sonatas, songs, etc. Thus Leo Ornstein is a fine example of the immigrant who has contributed to American culture

In 1871 Leopold Damrosch brought his nine-year-old son, Walter Johannes, to America from their native land of Germany. The father was himself a famous musician and orchestra-leader, and Walter followed in his father's footsteps. Only ten years after his arrival in this country, Walter Damrosch began his career as a conductor in Newark, New Jersey. Upon the death of his father, he succeeded him as conductor of the New York Symphony Society and of the Metropolitan Opera House. The New York Symphony Orchestra (now merged with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra) was organized by Walter Damrosch into a permanent orchestra in 1903, thus making a very important contribution to American music. During the war, he reformed the bands of the A.E.F. at the request of General Pershing, and founded a school for its bandmasters. He has also greatly aided the broadcasting of good music over the radio in a series of educational concerts for schools and colleges throughout the country. He is well known as a composer too. Another immigrant contributing to American culture

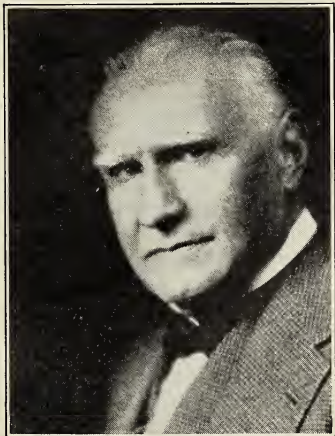


FIG. 228. Walter Damrosch

What would the American motion picture be without Greta Garbo (Swedish), Marlene Dietrich (German), Maurice Chevalier (French), Charlie Chaplin (English), Eric von Stroheim (German), Emil Jannings (German), Dolores del Rio and Lupe Vélez (Mexican), George Arliss and Cyril Maude (English)?

3. *Immigrant painters, sculptors, and architects.* The fine arts have also been markedly influenced by men and women of European nationality. Consider, for example, the group that grew up around Alfred Stieglitz, most of whom, although American-born, were the children of foreign-born parents. Stieglitz himself (German Jew) and John Marin are the sons of immigrants.

There is also Jacob Epstein, the sculptor, born of Russian-Polish parents; Gutzon and Solon Borglum, American sculptors, sons of a Danish physician; Miguel Covarrubias, Spanish cartoonist and illustrator; Ernest Roth, German painter and etcher; Adolph Weinman and Fred W. Ruckstull, both German sculptors; W. T. Benda, Polish illustrator and painter; Isadore Konti, Austrian sculptor; and John C. Johansen, Danish portrait-painter. Karl Bitter, an Austrian, was one of our leading sculptors, as was also the Irish-born Augustus Saint-Gaudens.

4. *The immigrant has also helped to develop creative writing in America.* You know now what a remarkable advance has been made in the writing of American poetry, novels, short stories, and essays. Much of this was contributed by recent immigrants or their children. What would the new poetry be for example without such contributors as Carl Sandburg, Alfred Kreymborg, James Oppenheim, Louis Untermeyer, Maxwell Bodenheim. Do their names *sound* American?

The growing literature of immigration itself has been fundamentally contributed by such immigrants as Jacob Riis, Danish social worker; Edward A. Steiner, Czechoslovakian sociologist; Mary Antin, Russian author of novels on immigrants; M. E. Ravage, Rumanian author; and Konrad Bercovici, Rumanian author who has described how the immigrant lives in the new land. Frank Tannenbaum, Austrian student of crime in America; Hendrik Willem Van Loon, Dutch journalist, essayist, lecturer, and professor; and Ludwig Lewisohn, German novelist, professor, and essayist, have also contributed to our literature.

Perhaps you are already bewildered by these many names. Some of them you have heard before; others you will learn about later as you become more familiar with literature and the fine arts in America. These names are not given with the thought that you should memorize them, but merely that you may gather from the large number of them at least a general impression of the conspicuous part which immigrants and the children of immigrants have played in the art life of our country.

A great many more names might have been added to the list which you have just read, but perhaps the purpose has been served. "Europe is the palette on which the pure colors are spread. America is the picture which is being painted with these rich colors." This was said of the contribution of the immigrant to South America, but it is even more true of the immigrant's contribution to the United States.

OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE IMMIGRANT TO OUR CHANGING AMERICAN CULTURE

But it is not only in the field of manual labor and in the fine arts that European immigrants have influenced our civilization. They have also contributed much to every other aspect of our life.

Consider, for example, the important contribution that they have made and are making to the development of science and invention. Louis Agassiz, the great Swiss naturalist, worked in America just after the Civil War, and John James Audubon, the son of French immigrant parents, introduced Americans to their birds. There were and are also Niels E. Hansen, the Danish student of plant life; John P. Holland, Irish inventor of the submarine; Ottmar Mergenthaler, German-American inventor of the linotype machine; Michael Pupin, the Serbian-American scientist and professor; Charles Proteus Steinmetz, the German-American electrical wizard; and Nikola Tesla, the Greek inventor of electrical instruments.

Journalism likewise owes much to the immigrant. Witness James Gordon Bennett, Scotch promoter of newspapers in America; Edward Bok, Dutch-American magazine-editor and

writer ; Samuel Sydney McClure, Irish-American inventor of the fiction-magazine syndicate ; Joseph Pulitzer, Hungarian-American journalist and philanthropist.

This must conclude a survey too brief to do full justice to the subject of the debt we owe to the genius, the self-sacrifice, and the artistic temperament of the foreign-born. It is clear that much of the fineness of American life today owes its existence to the contributions, not of native-born Americans, but of people who either came directly from European countries or were children whose fathers and mothers were immigrants.

THE NEW NEGRO AND OUR CHANGING AMERICAN CULTURE

One complicated problem remains untouched — namely, that created by the darker-skinned races. There are in the United States nearly 12,000,000 persons belonging to these races — Negroes, Mexicans, Chinese, Japanese, and others.

Approximately 11,000,000 of these are Negroes, a group almost as large as that of the foreign-born Europeans. For nearly 300 years they have presented a difficult social problem. A great war was fought between the Northern and Southern states over questions arising from their presence. Race riots have frequently occurred because of the difficulty that white people and Negroes have had in living together. On the other hand, the presence of Mexicans, Chinese, and Japanese has created problems in the Southwest and the Far West. The wise treatment of the dark-skinned races is much more difficult than the assimilation of foreign-born Europeans.

As far as the Negro is concerned, we should note briefly the fine contributions that he has already begun to make to our changing American culture.

The education of the Negro

For 250 years, from the landing of the first boatload of African Negroes (1619) to the close of the Civil War, the Negro was thought of as the slave, the servant of the white man. Since the Civil War, however, he has steadily worked his way "up from slavery" and has fitted himself more and more surely for a place

in the life of the nation. Education has been his main reliance in this endeavor. The public schools both of the North and of the South have given him new opportunities. Moreover, certain educators of his own race have provided wise leadership in this development. Foremost among these, respected everywhere and by all people, was Booker T. Washington. Through heroic efforts he founded and maintained the famous Tuskegee Institute at Tuskegee, Alabama. He devoted his life to his people. One of his aims was to make the Negro a self-supporting member of society, respected for his contribution to the common welfare. He emphasized the teaching of a trade to every Negro boy and girl so that the development of his people might rest upon a solid industrial basis. Constantly in his public addresses as well as in such books as *Up from Slavery* and *The Future of the American Negro* he emphasized these principles.

Robert R. Moton, who in 1915 succeeded Booker T. Washington as principal of Tuskegee Institute, is another prominent figure in the Negro educational field. He struggled for an education that he might share what he learned with others of his race; and his teaching, his writing, and his work in such organizations as the Commission on Inter-Racial Coöperation have been of great value to the Negro.

But the Negro's educational growth was by no means confined to industrial lines. It included an artistic development as well. In the days before the Civil War it was almost impossible to think that the Negro could ever become a creative artist. For many years after the Civil War indeed he was too busy achieving a mere living to make much of a contribution to the arts. But after 1900, and especially since the World War, he has to his credit a really remarkable outpouring of original work.

**Negro actors and musicians are now contributing
creatively to American life**

The Negro first found his opportunity as a creative artist mainly in music, in dancing, and in acting. The new American music, jazz, originated with the Negro. But even more important is his contribution to the folk songs of America. Through-

out most of the history of his slavery the Negro was a singer of songs. In the cotton fields, on the docks of Southern ports, on the levees of the Mississippi River, in the mines and mills, he sang social songs, religious hymns called spirituals, and plantation songs. As a result, many of the folk songs of America can be traced to the Negro. Moreover, not a little of the music written by white men showed strong Negro influence. For example, Stephen Foster (1826-1864), the first real song-writer of America, owes much to Negro music. No doubt you know some of his songs, such as "My Old Kentucky Home," "Old Folks at Home," "Old Black Joe," "Massa's in de Cold, Cold Ground," and "Nelly was a Lady."

In the eighties and nineties, Negro minstrel shows, developed before the Civil War by white people as a sort of caricature of Negro life, gave the Negro recognition as an entertainer to the white man as well as to his own race. In these minstrel shows the actors sang, danced, and told jokes. Talented comedians such as Bert Williams and George Walker, Bob Cole, and the composer and singer J. Rosamond Johnson popularized a new type of Negro song. Among these songs were, for example, "Dora Dean," "Why don't you get a Lady of your Own?" "I don't like No Cheap Man," "When it's All Goin' Out and Nothin' Comin' In," "Under the Bamboo Tree," "The Congo Love Song," and "Lazy Moon," all well known in the early 1900's. The leading white musical-comedy stars of that day popularized these songs throughout the North.

Then came the World War and the enormous movement of Negroes from the South into Northern cities. Every large city soon had its Negro colony, but it was in the Negro section of New York City that most of the new Negro artists lived and worked.

Although Negro theaters had existed for some years even in Southern cities, and in Chicago there was the well-known Negro Pekin Theater, it was in New York City that the Negro became a really creative artist of the stage. Here an astonishing group of fine dramatic actors appeared in the two Negro theaters — the Lafayette and the Lincoln. Heading the list was Charles Gilpin, Jack-of-all-trades, — minstrel performer, jubilee singer,

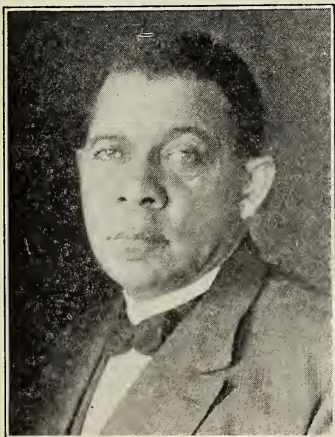


FIG. 229. Booker T. Washington

Born a slave in Virginia in 1859, an acknowledged leader of his race at his death in 1915 — such are the extremes in the life story of Booker Taliaferro Washington. He wanted an education above all else. Working in a salt furnace . . . in a coal mine . . . seizing his opportunity for elementary schooling at night . . . a house servant . . . “walking, begging rides in wagons and in the cars” to cover the 500 miles to Hampton Institute, where for three years he worked as janitor for his board while he studied. He taught, again he studied, and in 1881 he was called to organize a new school for Negroes at Tuskegee, Alabama. There he planned for his people a practical education along the lines of trade and industry which should lead to their economic independence. He was a fluent and effective speaker, a forceful writer on the problems of the Negro, and a farsighted and practical reformer. His writings include *Sowing and Reaping*, *Up from Slavery*, *The Future of the American Negro*, *Character Building*, *Tuskegee and Its People*, *The Story of the Negro*, and *The Man Farthest Down*.

Scholar, athlete, actor, singer — four rôles and each a triumph! Few men have achieved such success. Paul Robeson has. Born in Princeton, New Jersey, in 1898, the son of a Negro minister, he was educated in the public schools of that city, and in open competition won a state scholarship to Rutgers. There, though noted for his scholarship, he was far more famous as an athlete. Later he studied law at Columbia and entered the office of a prominent New York lawyer. But in 1924 he definitely gave up the law for the theater, where he won unrestrained praise from critics and public in *All God's Chillun Got Wings* and *The Emperor Jones*. From the theater to the concert hall the following year was a natural step for one who possessed the deep, rich voice of Paul Robeson. As a singer of the Negro spirituals he was acclaimed both in this country and in Europe. But the stage still called him, and in 1930 he returned to London to play the Moor in *Othello*. His interpretation of this part has seldom been excelled

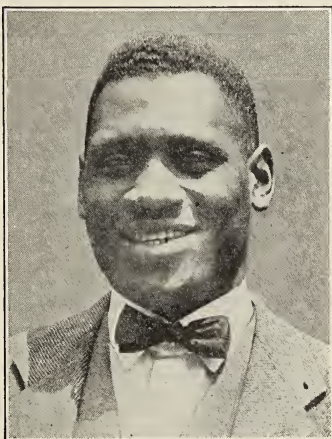


FIG. 230. Paul Robeson

and vaudeville actor,— who achieved his great success in the title rôle of Eugene O'Neill's *Emperor Jones*. In 1920 Gilpin won the Spingarn Medal, which is awarded each year for the "highest or noblest achievement by an American Negro during the preceding year or years." Perhaps even more famous is Paul Robeson, astonishing genius of song, who built a world-wide reputation with his wonderful voice and remarkable personality and who recently attained great renown in Europe for his fine dramatic performance in Shakespeare's *Othello*. Richard B. Harrison, too, has given a remarkable performance as the Lord in *Green Pastures*.

In the field of serious musical composition R. Nathaniel Dett has won distinction. His "Juba Dance" for piano and his "Chariot Jubilee" for full orchestra are among his best known compositions. Clarence Cameron White is noted as a violinist and composer, and his "Bandana Sketches" have attracted much attention. William Grant Still is the youngest of the noted Negro composers. The International Guild of Composers has presented his works for voice and chamber orchestra. Among performers, Roland Hayes has won an international reputation. He is not only the greatest singer of the African race today, but one of the greatest tenors in the world. His interpretation, both of the great vocal classics and of the "spirituals" of his own people, is truly remarkable.

On the vaudeville and musical-comedy stage have been seen such recognized artists as Bill Robinson, the tap dancer, and Florence Mills and Josephine Baker, musical-comedy stars, who were received with acclaim in Europe and in South America as well as in the United States. Indeed, it is not too much to say that the Negroes of New York City have made as original a contribution to the vaudeville, musical-comedy, and revue stage in the past fifteen years as have the white people themselves.

Negro poets, novelists, and essayists

In many of the Northern cities important creative writers also appeared among the black people. Not less than ten recognized poets, novelists, and essayists have emerged in the past twenty years.

As a matter of fact, the Negro has been a writer for many years. As long ago as 1773, Phillis Wheatley, a Boston slave woman, published a book of poems, the second volume of poems published by any woman in America. Judged by the writing of that day it was good poetry. Even earlier than Miss Wheatley was Jupiter Hammon, a slave poet of Long Island. In the next 100 years, more than 30 Negroes published volumes of verse, while hundreds of essays, pamphlets, and books were produced.

But it was during the World War that there suddenly appeared a stream of really creative Negro poetry and prose. There were, for example, the half-dozen books of poems by Claude McKay. There were the still larger number of books by the scholarly James Weldon Johnson.

A young Negro poet, Countee Cullen, wrote several books of poems among which are volumes entitled *Color*, *The Ballad of the Brown Girl*, *Copper Sun*, and *The Black Christ*, while Langston Hughes attracted attention with *The Weary Blues* and *Fine Clothes to the Jew*.

Negro novelists also appeared in these same years. *The Quest of the Silver Fleece* was written by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois. Jean Toomer published a series of short stories of Negro life entitled *Cane*, which has been hailed by critics as one of the best of American prose writings. Walter White issued *The Fire in the Flint*, a realistic novel of Negro life in a Southern small town. Jessie Fauset's *There is Confusion* and *The Marshalls* are important social documents. Claude McKay's novel, *Home to Harlem* and the volume entitled *The New Negro*, edited by Alain Locke, present each in a different way excellent pictures of the life and work of the Negro.¹

IN CONCLUSION

This must conclude our study of the problem created by the foreign-born and the Negro. Although we have had little space for examples, the few which have been presented show that the problem is one of great difficulty and importance. It is twofold.

¹See the *Survey Graphic*, March, 1925, for an excellent series of articles telling of the work of some of the Negro artists.

On the one hand, there is the task of making the immigrant and the Negro a real part of American life, making them citizens, teaching them the fine ideals of our people, and educating them to be tolerant of the difficulties ahead of the American people and determined to help solve them.

On the other hand, there is the task of learning from the immigrant and the Negro the many fine things which they have to contribute to American culture. America is indeed becoming the melting pot of the world. Every nationality has sent us fine representatives of its civilization and culture. It is our task to be tolerant of their different ways of living and to recognize their contributions with our own customs and interests. Only thus will America achieve the fine world culture to which it aspires.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

- BEARD, ANNIE E. S. *Our Foreign-born Citizens*. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York. Interesting life stories of 34 people who came from the Old World.
- BOK, E. W. *The Americanization of Edward Bok*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. An interesting book.
- CATHER, WILLA. *My Ántonia*. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. A novel which tells the story of an immigrant woman in this country.
- GAVIT, JOHN P. *Americans by Choice*. Harper & Brothers, New York. Tells how immigrants become citizens and how they use their newly gained rights.
- HILL, HOWARD C. *Community Civics*. Ginn and Company, Boston. See Chapter VI.
- HILL, HOWARD C. *Readings in Community Life*. Ginn and Company, Boston. See Chapter VI.
- HUSBAND, JOSEPH. *Americans by Adoption*. Little, Brown and Company, Boston.
- KELLY, MYRA. *Little Aliens*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. The experiences of a New York school-teacher with her immigrant pupils.
- ORTH, S. P. *Our Foreigners*, Vol. XXXV of *The Chronicles of America*. Yale University Press, New Haven.
- RIIS, JACOB A. *The Making of an American*. The Macmillan Company, New York.
- STEINER, EDWARD A. *From Alien to Citizen*. Fleming H. Revell Company, New York.
- WADE, M. H. *Pilgrims of Today*. Little, Brown and Company, Boston.
- See also the readings listed at the end of Chapter IV.

CHAPTER XXIII

LOOKING AHEAD: THE AGE OF PLANNING

One central idea has held our attention throughout most of our study of changing American culture — how the American is molded by the forces about him. Two kinds of influence tend to make him what he is. The first is the groups in which he lives — the family and neighborhood groups, the social organizations, the work groups, and the church and school groups. The second is the nonhuman agencies around him — the newspapers, magazines, and books that he reads, what he hears over the radio, what he sees in the "movies," the lectures he attends, and the advertising that he sees on every side. Taken together these go far to determine the kind of person he becomes.

THE NEW INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IS CHANGING OUR WHOLE CULTURE

In this volume, as in the four preceding ones, the central theme has been change. Ever more rapid change! After 1890 the New Industrial Revolution brought us the auto, the telephone, the "movies," the airplane, the radio, and larger, more powerful machines. These changed family and community life, and brought grave difficulties to the American people.

Consider the changes that we have studied:

- Change in family life
- Change in neighborhood life
- Change in social organizations
- Change in conditions of work and in security of employment
- Change in government
- Change in law enforcement
- Change in what people read
- Change in the formation of public opinion
- Change in the liberty of the individual

Change in ways of buying and selling
Change in leisure
Change in interests, customs, and standards
Change in population

Is it not clear that the New Industrial Revolution has had a tremendous effect on American life?

THE GROWTH OF GREAT CITIES: THE MOST IMPORTANT SINGLE TREND IN MODERN LIFE

One of the most important results of all these changes and developments is — The City! The city, grown as the world has never known it before. It is true that throughout all man's known history on the earth people have come together in cities. There were cities in ancient China 5000 years ago. There were cities in the ancient river-valley civilizations of India, Assyria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt. There were cities around the Mediterranean 2000 years ago, and in western Europe in the Middle Ages. There were cities also in the old civilizations of Central America.

But they were then essentially centers of *trade*, government, learning, and recreation. Modern cities are, in addition, centers of industry and of manufacturing. Also, they are much larger. In 1930 New York numbered approximately 7,000,000 inhabitants, while Chicago had more than 3,000,000, and a few other American cities had more than 1,000,000 each.

Furthermore, as we have seen throughout the five volumes of this series, cities are developing more rapidly than ever. Indeed, every kind of community in America is growing bigger and bigger, more and more complex. The United States is following England in a rapid change from a land of farms and rural communities to a country of cities. More than half of its people now live in cities.

Thus it appears certain that the American civilization of the near future will be chiefly a civilization of urban life. Consequently, every aspect of our culture is changing sharply, and many difficult problems have arisen.

The modern American city, while bringing serious problems, also has much to commend it. Let us summarize the disadvantages and the advantages of city life.

I. Disadvantages of living in the city

1. It is in the city that family life has changed most rapidly, that families have become smaller and less compact.
2. It is in the city that serious problems of housing have developed.
3. It is in the city that the intimacy of neighborhood life has almost disappeared.
4. It is in the city that Americans have found it most difficult to own their own homes.
5. It is in the city that the companionship of husbands and wives, elders and children, has changed most completely.
6. It is in the city that the problem of steady employment has become most serious.
7. It is chiefly in the city that the citizen has grown more indifferent to the carrying on of government.
8. It is in the city that the necessity for social control has grown most rapidly.
9. It is in the city that crime has increased and gangs flourish.
10. It is in the city that the most difficult problems of the press have arisen.
11. It is in the city that immigrants clique together in colonies and make Americanization especially difficult.
12. It is in the city that serious problems of congestion and of traffic have developed.
13. It is in the city that life has become most restless.
14. It is in the city that people have tended to become more extravagant and to live off the future.

II. Advantages of living in the city

1. In the city the level of education is distinctly high, and there are far better educational facilities than in small towns or villages.
2. In the city are the finest theaters, the best art galleries, and the finest music.
3. In the city recreations are much more varied than in the small towns and villages. It is here that the best professional baseball, football, hockey, and tennis are found. It is here that plays, musical comedies, vaudeville attractions, and other entertainments of the finest kind are available.
4. In the city gather leading musicians, actors, creative writers (including poets and dramatists), scientists, and experts in every field.

5. In the city are the headquarters of international groups and of many forward-looking organizations and associations.
6. In the city wages and salaries are higher, as is the general physical standard of living.
7. In the city life is least monotonous, varied occupations and varied recreations alike are found, and varied kinds of people come together.
8. In the city is the greatest tolerance.

These two factors — the New Industrial Revolution and
the modern city — have produced difficult problems

Our chief purpose has now been fulfilled. We have seen the outstanding problems of American civilization and culture which have been revealed in every aspect of American life. How can we solve the following problems?

1. There are difficult problems of the changing family.
2. There are problems of the breakdown in neighborhood life.
3. There are problems of assimilating the immigrant.
4. There are problems of unemployment.
5. There are problems of honest and efficient community government.
6. There are problems of law enforcement.
7. There are problems of controlling and improving the press.
8. There are problems of propaganda and censorship.
9. There are problems of controlling the use of advertising and of the increasing extravagance of our people.
10. There are problems of educating the consumer in scientific buying.
11. There are problems growing out of the increasing restlessness and speed of life.
12. There are problems growing out of the interest of the people in accumulating money and property.
13. There are problems of intolerance and interference in individual and group life.

THE SERIOUSNESS OF THESE PROBLEMS IS CAUSED IN PART BY
LACK OF PLANNING IN AMERICAN LIFE

Repeatedly throughout this book we have noted the unplanned character of our civilization. In every branch of agriculture, industry, and business this lack of planning reveals itself.

For instance, manufacturers in the United States produce billions of dollars' worth of goods without scientific planning. Each one produces as much as he thinks he can sell, and then each one tries to sell more than his competitors. Manufacturing and trade unplanned!

In the same way, experts tell us that we have more railroad service than we need. Several costly railroads parallel one another in many regions, competing for freight and passengers. Transportation unplanned!

Similarly, millions of farmers plant their acres to wheat, corn, or oats, raise cattle, hogs, and other animals, without any plan as to how much they can sell or how much they can get for their products. Agriculture unplanned!

Also, thousands of owners of coal mines and oil fields are digging as much coal and drilling as much oil as they can, as fast as they can, so as to make a profit before their competitors beat them. Mining unplanned!

Furthermore, most of our cities, in spite of rapidly changing conditions, are still unplanned. Government is still not organized in terms of the needs of the new community life. Even education, the most basic of all social agencies, is far from well planned.

No doubt one reason for this nation-wide lack of planning is the great rapidity with which our civilization developed. During the first 100 years of our national life the onward march of the westward movement was terrific. There was little chance to plan each phase of group life carefully while land was being cleared, mines opened up, railroads, telegraphs, telephones, and other national enterprises built.

Furthermore, there was one important reason why planning has been exceedingly difficult — the national government, the state governments, and the local governments did not own most of these enterprises. Indeed, our entire history has grown up on the principle that farming, mining, railroads, telegraphs, telephones, power plants, buying and selling of goods, building houses — in short, producing, distributing, and exchanging things — shall be carried on privately. Only a small percentage of all our people believe that these things should be owned and operated

by all the people through their government. Thus there was no single agency that could plan for the country's needs and control transportation, communication, power, and the production of goods.

As a result, hundreds of thousands of owners of land, mines, railroads, and other means of transportation and communication, stores, and businesses of one kind or another, compete with one another without any regard for the total needs of all the people. We know that farmers produce more corn, wheat, and other foodstuffs than they can sell, and huge quantities of food are wasted. Coal-mine owners produce more coal than can be used. The result is that mines have to be closed and tens of thousands of miners are put out of work. This lack of national planning has indeed brought about an enormous waste in every outstanding branch of industry.

BUT AMERICA IS NOW ENTERING A NEW AGE OF SOCIAL PLANNING

The dangers to life in our modern interdependent world have been revealed so clearly in recent years, however, that the necessity for careful planning is now beginning to be recognized. Two things helped to arouse our leaders. The first was the World War itself, with its terrible destruction of human life, of cities and farms, and of the fine arts. That catastrophe taught leaders everywhere the danger of permitting our international transportation, communication, and exchange of goods to break down. Men everywhere learned that no country or no region within a country lives any longer to itself. Each depends upon others. Hence *the whole* must be planned.

The second factor was, and is, Russia's "Five-Year Plan," by which that vast agricultural nation is trying to rebuild itself into an efficient industrial country. The daily press of Europe and America is full of reports of this gigantic attempt to plan the life of a nation. The amount of coal to be mined each year in various regions of Russia is planned. So is the amount of oil to be drilled, the amounts of wheat, corn, oats, and other farm products to be raised. The number and size of new factories, power stations, railroads, telegraph and telephone lines, and

radio stations to be constructed are planned. So are the number and kind of schools, colleges, social centers, and public buildings to be erected. In fact, *every aspect of the economic, social, and political life of a country of 140,000,000 people is being carefully planned!*

As a result of such factors as the World War and Russia's Five-Year Plan, other European countries as well as the United States are reconsidering how to plan their national needs. In Volume VI, *Changing Governments and Changing Cultures*, we shall learn more about these new tendencies. In the few remaining pages of this volume let us state the chief problems of planning which now confront our own people.

1. Scientific planning in industry, business, and agriculture

The basis of a secure and comfortable living for the American people lies in a *carefully planned economic life*. In this book we have studied examples of plans which are already being developed to improve certain aspects of our industrial life. We contrasted the wasteful results obtained through thoughtless hiring-and-firing of employees with the increased security and efficiency of scientific management. We discussed plans for national employment agencies which would bring workers and jobs together. We considered plans which would guide people in the choice of jobs, and which would avoid the waste in human efficiency due to ill health and accidents and to a large labor turnover. We also considered plans which would provide insurance for those who are unemployed because of such factors. We noted plans which will tend to bring about better coöperation between workers and owners.

All these plans, important as they are, are mere makeshifts compared to the more fundamental ones still needed for industry, agriculture, business, finance, and transportation.

There is, first, the need for nation-wide planning of the use of our natural resources — coal, oil, copper, etc. This is wanted in order that the amounts produced each year will provide sufficient supplies, will give all workers uninterrupted employment and comfortable incomes, and will not make for waste of the nation's resources.

We noted likewise the need for nation-wide plans for the co-operative control of the production of wheat, corn, meat, fruit, and other products in order to guarantee the American people sufficient food and to assure the farmer a decent standard of living.

Other goods must also be produced in accordance with the needs of the people. Hence we must have plans for the coöperative control of the manufacturing of textile goods and garments, of the construction of the houses in which we live and the buildings in which we carry on our collective affairs. Our interdependent system of transportation and communication must be coöperatively controlled and operated so that the present wastes of competition and unemployment can be eliminated.

Finally, we must have plans which will help divide the national income among the people so that every person will have the best standard of living in respect to comfort that the great wealth of the nation now makes possible.

2. Scientific planning of community life

Americans are also beginning to plan their communities. Until recent years they grew up in haphazard fashion. Indeed, like Topsy, they "just grewed." No doubt when some of them

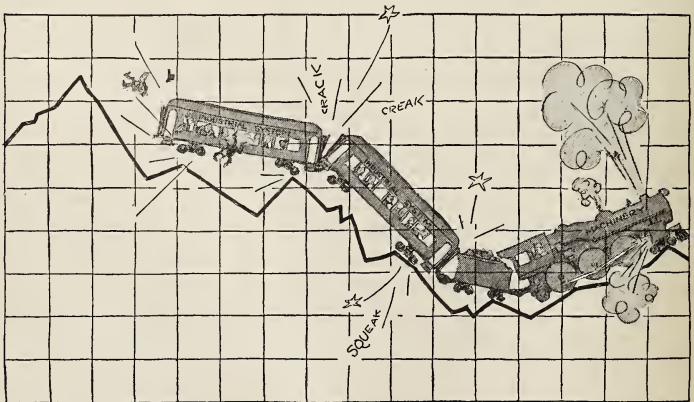
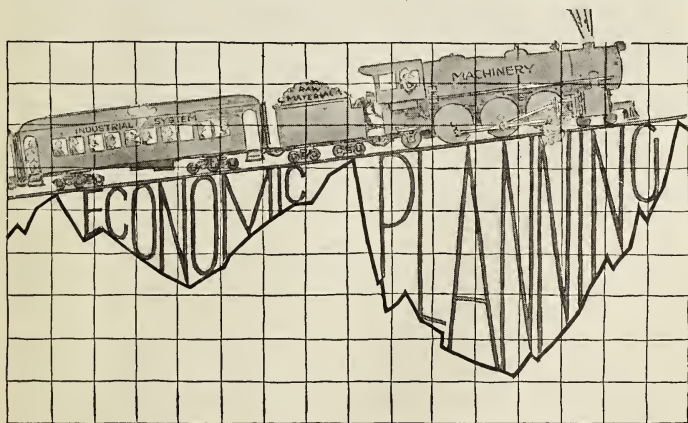


FIG. 231. This cartoon illustrates what sometimes happens because industry is not happen under a national plan. (By Wyncie King. Reprinted by special permission

were first settled their location and arrangement may have been definitely arranged. Sufficient room was provided for small villages and towns, but it is utterly inadequate now for the great metropolises which have grown up. Furthermore, cities grew so rapidly and changed so swiftly that there was little time for new planning as the years passed. Thus, as you already know, great cities have outgrown the narrow sites on which they were settled.

Consider New York as a single example. For more than two centuries New York grew slowly from a village to a small town. Even when it began to expand rapidly after 1800, there was sufficient room on Manhattan Island for it. It was not until near the close of the 1800's, when millions of human beings were being attracted to the growing city, that it became impossible to house the people on Manhattan Island. Then the population rapidly spread to Long Island, north of the city into Westchester County, and west of the Hudson River along the New Jersey coast.

As this happened, one-family and two-family houses were replaced rapidly by five-story to ten-story apartment buildings and business blocks. Lawns and yards disappeared, and trees and grass became a rarity. Business buildings became taller and taller, until finally skyscrapers of more than sixty stories were



nationally planned, and this cartoon illustrates what some of the leaders believe would from the *Saturday Evening Post*. Copyright, 1930, by the Curtis Publishing Company)

built. Meanwhile, the width of streets remained approximately the same because of the cost of destroying great buildings and the increasing value of land.

As industries multiplied, as business men built larger and larger stores, offices, and warehouses, the congestion of human beings increased. Hundreds of thousands of automobiles, necessary to carry people in and out of the great city, cluttered up the streets, and parking places for them became utterly inadequate. Huge crowds surged back and forth along sidewalks, in the business districts during the day and in the recreation districts in the evenings. Places for play could not be provided to keep pace with the growth.

To transport the millions of hurrying human beings, the city dug subways, one under the other, and built elevated railway lines and raised automobile highways. Tunnels were dug under the rivers and enormous bridges erected over them. Hundreds of great docks were constructed to accommodate the growing ocean passenger and freight traffic.

Bigger and bigger grew the great metropolis. More and more crowded it became, and the need for planning became evident. Even many years ago farsighted leaders saw the need for a plan. For more than 30 years planning commissions have been appointed, and plans have been made for developing transportation, for building parks, highways, subways, elevated lines and bridges, for widening streets, for pulling down old buildings, and for developing recreational centers.

Plans! Plans! Plans! Still the city grew. As a result Greater New York today numbers more than 10,000,000 people. *It includes 421 communities, covers an area of 5528 square miles, and reaches into three states — New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey.*

Recently under the leadership of Charles Dyer Norton and the Russell Sage Foundation a great Regional Plan for New York has been developed. This has been reported in ten volumes.¹

This new plan estimates that there will be 21,000,000 people in Greater New York in 1965, and attempts to provide for a healthful and beautiful city. The aim is to provide a "desirable

¹For an excellent summary of the entire plan, see R. L. Duffus's *Mastering a Metropolis* (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1930).

place to live and easy access to work, play, shops, schools, and common meeting places." Hence the very foundation of the plan is a great system of transportation. This system includes a



FIG. 232. A proposed solution for city traffic problems. Note the three levels — one for those on foot and two for those driving automobiles. (Courtesy of the Regional Plan of New York, Advisory Committee of Architects, Harvey W. Corbett, Chairman)

plan of broad highways and boulevards, bridges, subways, elevated lines for both passengers and freight, and airplane landing facilities. It includes also a vast park system, playgrounds, residence houses, social centers and government centers, and provides for architectural beautification and the improvement of all water fronts, docks, and terminals.

Those who have studied the plan carefully are optimistic concerning it. They feel that the super-city, crowded as its living conditions are, is manageable. But they are equally sure that to manage it will require the most careful planning.

The conditions which have developed in New York have been reproduced on a somewhat smaller scale in Pittsburgh, Cleveland,



FIG. 233. The civic center of New York City as farsighted leaders have planned it. (Courtesy of the Regional Plan of New York. Francis S. Swales, Architect)

Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, San Francisco, and other cities. Already planning commissions are at work in each of these communities, providing for their future growth. Indeed, in some cities community-planning began even before it did in New York. In Chicago, for example, a plan was proposed at the time of the World's Fair (1893). By 1907 the so-called Chicago Plan was being developed under the leadership of outstanding architects.

In Dayton, Ohio, in Galveston, Texas, and in San Francisco floods, earthquakes, and fires jolted the citizens into a recognition of the need for more careful planning of their communities. As a result of the widespread discussion of city-planning, there is to-day hardly a city or town of size which is not arranging for the reconstruction of its community.

3. The scientific education of the consumer

We have already reviewed the need for planning in the buying and selling of goods. In Chapter XIX we noted the widespread tendency of the nation to buy goods because of their popularity rather than because of their merit. But we also learned of governmental and private agencies which aid the consumer in his buying. This aid comes in part through the standardizing of specifications on which goods are produced, and in part by informing the consumer of fair prices and qualities of goods.

Nevertheless, hardly a beginning has been made in the planning of buying among Americans. There is a need for a great multiplication of governmental agencies to aid the man on the street in his purchasing. There is a need for the coöperative control of advertising.

4. The scientific planning of government

With the coming of the New Industrial Revolution and the startling growth of cities, difficult problems of government taught leaders the need for scientific planning in political life. We have seen examples of the apathy of the average citizen to problems of local, national, and international government and of his remoteness from the actual government of his community. We have learned how the professional politicians secure and hold their power and how they carry on the real local government.

But there are new experimental plans of community government, as we have seen. Probably the most scientific and expert of all is the new city-manager plan. However, bearing in mind the future increase of cities, we confront an important problem. Can Lincoln's ideal of a government "of the people, by the people,

for the people" be attained? Can government be carried on scientifically? Here, then, is another difficult group of problems.

**5. The need for scientific planning in the reconstruction of
our system of laws and law enforcement**

Our studies have also revealed the haphazard development of our system of law, which sprang partly from the customs of the people and partly from the English common law. As in the case of housing, transportation, and government, however, the system of laws was designed for the simple types of community life prevalent long ago. As cities have grown, the system has not changed to keep pace with the changes in community and national life. As a result, shocking weaknesses in law enforcement have developed. Our cities have become infested with gangs, made up chiefly of the foreign-born and the children of the foreign-born. Furthermore, a widespread spirit of bewilderment, a lack of understanding of the law, has grown up. Hence difficult problems have arisen, and the urgent need of more scientifically planning our system of law enforcement is plain.

**6. Is there a place for better planning in the development
of the press?**

Among the more interesting changes which we have noted in these studies have been the development of universal elementary education and the increasing tendency of our people to read newspapers, magazines, and books. We have noted the important rôle of advertising and business in determining the content of newspapers and magazines. We have seen the widespread tendency for tabloid picture newspapers and other sensational periodicals to print "news" without too great regard for accuracy.

Hence, although reputable publishers are already doing much to improve the character of the press, insistent problems present themselves. Underlying them are difficult questions of propaganda and censorship. Similarly, there emerge the equally important problems of the more fundamental education of our people, of the cultivation of a taste for better literature and of a demand for a more scientific attitude in the press.

7. Planning how to assimilate other races and nationalities into American life

More than 20,000,000 persons of other races and foreign nationalities live in the United States side by side with the 100,000,000 native white people. Although remarkable advances have been made in their assimilation into the general population, difficult problems remain to be solved. In the preceding chapter we considered the twofold significance of these problems. First is the task of teaching the white immigrants and the Negroes the ideals of our people, bringing them into citizenship, developing in them a tolerant understanding of the problems confronting the people and a willingness to help meet those problems. Second is the task of learning from the immigrant and the Negro the many fine things which they can contribute to American life. Although these problems are difficult, our history gives real promise that in the future a unified people will emerge from the present hodge-podge of races and nationalities. Our deepest aim will be to develop a country whose people will tolerantly and sympathetically coöperate with the other nations of the world, and which will take its place as a thoughtful and humanitarian leader in the modern world.

8. But the basis of the new age of planning is the new education

The launching of far-reaching plans depends upon one fundamental step — education! The education of grown-ups! The education of young people! Already a new education is appearing in our progressive towns and cities. Under the leadership of wise educational philosophers and thousands of progressive teachers and administrators, new kinds of elementary and secondary schools are appearing. The spirit of these new schools is one of active work. Young people in them play an important part in every aspect of school work — in the work of the classes, in the various organizations, even in the government of the school. Thus they learn to live in a democracy by learning to govern themselves.

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